78 M 78

B 22

HFM 78

Non Brahmin

Movement

Pages 246 to 4

1921 - 1938

HFM 78

247

week ending 22nd January, 1921.

The Fourth Non-Brahman Confederation.

28. Adverting to the proceedings of this Confederation, the Desabhaktan, of the 10th January, observes:-- The number of delegates present does not rant the opinion that the public take interest in this fedration. Only leaders in quest of official posts and a under the glamour of western civilisation seem to be the nstay of this movement. It provokes laughter on the one and pity on the other to see that neither the chairman he reception committee nor the president has realised the present legislative councils are merely traps set lude us and are only like the wheels in the cage for the rats to play upon. The speech of the President does cho the real feeling of the non-Brahmans. At the t time when the whole of the Indian race is dead against h life and wishes to have liberty and independence to things for itself, it amounts to an insult to the s a whole for the president to have said in his ctory remarks that it should be the statesmanship of , when proof of our fitness is forthcoming, to grant us creased rights at the proper time with foresight and liberal hand. There is no doubt that non-Brahmans will condemn this view of the President. It is certain emarks of the president about the congress having shevik in character by virtue of its having removed rds relating to British connexion from the descripti… ced, will provoke laughter even among Englishmen. the first portion of the President's speech is ves against Mr. Gandhi and his views. It will … to the non-B… mans that he should have called … has in… n electric spirit in th… …oken-

devoid of individuality, to be a fool and mischief maker. If liberty is granted, it is the non-Brahmans that will enjoy the full benefits thereof. It is only they that always ruled over this country, and not the Brahmans. It is only the English that have spoiled the religious observances of the Brahmans and have made them feel it an honour to do service to themselves and are keeping with their help the Indian race in subjection. Now that both the non-Brahmans and the Brahmans have woke up, we should hereafter concentrate our forces and work for the common aim of doing away with slavery.

For the week ending the 5th February, 1921.

Godavari District Non-Brahman Conference.

71. Commenting on the proceedings of 'the Godavari district Non-Brahman Conference held at Amalapur, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st January, remarks:-- Even those who have taken the responsibility of the present administration on their shoulders are despondent. We are not throwing the blame on the Ministers. It does not matter who the Ministers are. Under the dual system of Government, no good work can be turned out by them. How can works involving expenditure be carried out by penniless persons? That was the reason why the Amristar Congress said that the reforms were disappointing, and the Calcutta Congress asked you to boycott them. Those who thought that all good would come from the reforms now accept the view that they are not very advantageous. The Chairman of the Reception Committee said that the Government would not help us in our efforts to improve our trade and industries; because the English nation would be the losers. That was why Mr.Gandhi asked us to depend on our self-held and improve our national industries.

249

For the week ending 12th February, 1921.

The Non-Brahman movement and the country's misfortune.

49. A correspondent to the Balabharathi, of the 21st January, in pointing out that want of union amongst the Indian people was the cause of foreign invasion and occupation of India and appealing to the non-Brahmans' to work in union with the other castes so that a third person (the British) may not profit by such quarrels,') observes:-- What harm have the Brahmans done to us more than the British people. Did they commit any such atrocities as were committed in the Punjab? Telling us that they would grant swaraj after the war, the British secured the help of crores of our people and when the war came to an end, they made those very men fire at us. They granted us Reforms which only increased the burden of taxation. Prohibiting us from wearing arms, they threw us at the mercy of the Police for self-protection? They consume thousands of rupees out of the taxes paid by the people and remaining for five or six years here mocking at us, return to their country and maintaining themselves with our money those, speak derisively about us. They caressed the Muhammadans till their business was over, and afterwards wounded their religious feelings. They exploited all our resources, drained the country of its wealth and sent it all to foreign countries and reduced us to a state of utter destitution. None of these things were done by the Brahmans. Think of our slavery. Attain complete swaraj for generations to come. The Muhammadans are with us and the time is also very favourable. We shall first free ourselves and then, if necessary, we shall take up the cudgel against the Brahmans.

p. 194

and do not lose this precious opportunity given to you by Providence. If you miss this opportunity swaraj will continue to be an empty dream for centuries to come. The Non-Brahmans of the Madras Presidency cannot alone obtain swaraj —

53. Writing about the Non-Brahman Conference held at Pedamaddali (Gudivada Taluk) in the presence of the Ministers and other Legislative Council members, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd February, remarks:- The audience felt dissatisfied after hearing the speeches made by the Ministers and the President because they were purely an abuse of the non-co-operationists. The people assembled there thought that the Ministers had come to the out-of-the-way villages to remove the prevailing discontent but that nothing of the kind was done. Only a large amount of money was spent. No promises were made as to what they were going to do for the country's good.

Kistna District Non-Brahman Conference.

For the week ending 26th February, 1921.

37. A correspondent to the Desabhimani, of the 30th January criticises under this heading the non-Brahmans movement and in the course of his article asks whether only the Brahmans have suffered in consequence of the 'arbitrary' measures of the Government such as the Press Act, whether it is not the non-Brahmans that are deprived of their birthrights and are looked upon as brutes in the Colonies, and whether the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans have not equally suffered in the Punjab tragedy. He remarks:-- It is natural for the Government to create quarrels among the subjects. If they do not, the people will be united, and it will be difficult to carry on the administration of the country. May the people see this and sinking all differences, adopt non-co-operation and help the cause of the emancipation of the country.

Is the non-Brahman movement necessary?

47. In condemning the non-Brahman movement a correspondent to the Venkatesapatrika, of the 29th January, says under this heading:-- That the British being our well-wishing foes, have plundered all our country's wealth and reduced it to such poverty, is due to their commercial and administrative powers. It is due to our giving room to them by our disunion. Under the British rule, we gained some superficial benefits, but we can see how the arts, industries and prosperity of our country have been destroyed and the country reduced to poverty. If our country is to rise to its former eminence, there is no other means than the attainment of complete swaraj. To attain it, we must be united. When two men fight with each other, it is the third man that gains. We fight and the Europeans gain thereby.

The Non-Brahman movement an evil to the country.

For the week ending 26th March, 1921.

46. The Kistnapatrika, of the 12th March, states that the resolution of Mr.M.Ramachandra Rao protesting against the Nazarana of Rs.25 per acre required to be paid on ayacut lands, has been thrown out, and remarks:-- It appears to be the chief object of the Justice party to see as far as possible that Government appointments are not conferred on Brahmans. They do not seem to have in their view any plans to promote the welfare of the people.

The Justice party.

For the week ending 9th April, 1921.

51. Writing about the ultimate aims of the Justice party, the Andhrapatrika, of the 4th April, observes in its leader:-- There is no doubt that a craving for of official power is the chief cause of the Brahman-non-Brahman problem in this Presidency. To counteract the Home Rule propaganda of Mrs.Besant, Lord Pentland took advantage of the desire for power which some of the non-Brahmans manifested. Now, the object for attaining which the Justice party came into existence has been gained and the Justice movement has, therefore, very nearly come to an end. This movement is solely connected with the question of appointments under the Government. It does not concern itself with the welfare of the agriculturists who are crushed under the weight of heavy taxation, nor is it intended to help the weavers who are not able to earn their bread. It has nothing to do with the difficulties of our own Indian brethren in the colonies or with the protection of India's honour amid the nations of the world. It scope is very limited being confined merely to the securing of official power. That was why only a few educated non-Brahmans joined that party. The masses kept aloof. The labouring class was antogonistic to the Justice party. Some of the zamindars who joined the party at first, also ceased their connexion with it later on. We once advised the Brahmans to take up other walks of life, leaving all official appointments to the members of the justice party. We said that the Brahman non-Brahman problem would entirely disappear, if the Brahmans avoided the Legislative Councils. But the educated Brahmans could not manifest such a spirit of self-sacrifice. Where is the Brahman-non-Brahman controversy to be found? It is found in the Government offices and in the Legislative Councils which do not represent the people. But outside them it is not to be found at all. Neither does it exist among the

The desire for power: the Brahman-non-Brahman Problem.

mass

masses. Even if a few traces of it ever existed they have all disappeared from the Andhra country since the advent of the non-co-operation movement. It is the spirit of sacrifice that has overtaken both the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans in the Andhra country. A spirit of sacrifice cannot allow any room for self-interest? With self-surrender, the desire for power leaves us. The Brahman-non-Brahman question is not a more acute one than the Hindu-Muslim question. But the Muhammadans joined hands with the Hindus, the moment they understood the reality. Similarly, there are signs of the Justice party also soon disappearing. The ideas which we used to express hitherto have been expressed by the Hon'ble Mr.K.Srinivasa Ayyangar in the Legislative Council.

For the week ending 30th April, 1921.

58. Referring to the persistence shown by the non-Brahmans to get a resolution passed in the Legislative Council that no Brahmans should be newly employed in the Judicial Department for the next five years the Swadeshabhimani, of the 22nd April, in a short note, writes:--

Brahmans and the Judicial service.

Whenever attempts are being made to unite India into a nation and offer a common front, a split is invariably created and some party or other raises its head to frustrate these attempts in this unfortunate country. Men are not lacking who would encourage these parties from behind in their nefarious work. It is most heart-rending to see that these parties do not realise that, owing to such splits, for ages to come we will not be able to break asunder the chains which bind us hand and foot. We, therefore, suggest to the

Brahmans that they should divert their minds from Government service until the non-Brahmans also get into service and themselves realise the empty glamour thereof.

Writing on the same subject, the Kanthirava, of the 26th April, observes:-- Can Government say what heinous offence the Brahmans have committed to merit such a terrible punishment? Can an instance of glaring partiality such as this be allowed to pass in a righteous regime? If so, to whom lies any appeal? Some day it may be ruled that in future no Brahman students should be admitted into any colleges with a view to increase the number of non-Brahman B.A. and M.A's. Who is there to do justice? Can Brahman-hatred and injustice be allowed to spread so wildly? Our thanks are indeed due to Lord Pentland, the initiator of this movement!

For the week ending 7th May, 1921.

39. In the course of a long article condemning the devices adopted by the Brahmans to revolutionise the Government, a correspondent to the Dravidan, of the 27th April, observes among other things:-- An investigation of the criminal cases for the last 50 years would prove that the majority of the people who reviled the whites and committed seditious acts were Brahmans and this has been borne out by the Hon'ble Mr.Justice Kumaraswami Sastriyar, as a member of the Rowlatt Committee. The Brahmans are now under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi trying to collect a crore of rupees. It is our duty now to refrain from helping them with even a pie. The Government too should take immediate steps to put an end to the mischief of the Brahmans, the non-co-operation

The mischief of the brahmans.

movement and the propaganda work connected therewith and to the Tilak Swaraj fund. If these evils are weeded out, perfect peace will be restored in the country.

For the week ending 21st May, 1921.

Non-Brahmans and the Judicial service.

42. The Dravidan, of the 12th May, takes exception to a Brahman gentleman junior to Mr. S.Ranganadha Mudaliyar, a Sub-Judge, having been appointed as District Judge in supersession of the claims of the latter and, pointing to the rumour that the above Brahman gentleman now aspires to the post of a High Court Judge, remarks:-- Perhaps the officer appointing District Judges adopted this trick then alone with a view to raise his friend to the High Court Bench later! Is Lord Willingdon's Government going to administer justice or injustice? Has it not yet understood well that the non-Brahmans are fighting only for what they are legitimately entitled to.

Adverting to the agitation carried on for the past few days by the Justice party for the appointment of a non-Brahman in the place of Mr.Sadasiva Ayyar, the Hindu Nesan, of the 12th May, observes:-- Not only has this party been complaining against Brahmans in papers and on public platforms, but it has also got a resulution passed in the Legislative Council that no Brahmans should, for five years, be entertained in the Judicial department. It is not just that they should thus be unnecessarily jealous of the Brahmans, and the Government would do well to curb this undesirable attitude at the very outset. We hope that the Government will, without allowing caste considrations to weigh in this matter,

only appoint as Judge one who is well versed in law, possesses a calm judgment and has an experience of the department.

For the week ending 28th May, 1921.

The Justice.

55. Reffering to the insinuation made by the Justice that Mr. Thyagaraja Ayyar secured his District Judgeship 'by duping (the Government),' the Hitakarini, of the 16th May, says:- Those that know the honesty of Mr. Ayyar cannot believe the words of the Justice, that does not shrink from circulating false reports. We see people prone to recrimination, one party saying that the Government conferred Ministerships on Sudras having been duped by them, while another says that they conferred a District Judgeship on a Brahman having been duped by the Brahmans. It will be clear from this that such a Government has no individuality. Will the Justice realise that those who are fond of such a Government are still worse?

It remains to be seen whether Government is going to do justice in the matter of appointing Mr. Thyagaraja Ayyar as High Court Judge, or whether they shrink from doing so, being afraid of the sham threats of the Justice.

For the week ending 11th June, 1921.

Appointments in the Judicial department.

4. Justice, of the 6th June, writes:-- Last week we alluded to the rumour that gentlemen whose proficiency was confined to the athletic side of life were in the running for high judicial posts. It does appear from persistent rumours that 'qualifications little connected with eminence in

legal practice' do weigh with the Madras Government and the Madras High Court. The takk of efficiency is then all froth and foam, unless efficiency stands for favouritism and jobbery. If these persistent rumours turn out to be true, we shall have no hesitation in asking our non-Brahman M.L.C's. to take stock of the past and to revise their attitude towards the Madras bureaucracy in the future. It is obvious that the local bureaucracy imagines that the non-Brahman majority in the Council is a docile body which could be used to carry out its wishes irrespective of the interests of the country and the community, and which could be treated with scant courtesy if not with positive contempt. The feeling in the country is growing more and more bitter, and it is absured for the bureaucrat to imagine because three non-Brahman gentlemen are Ministers he can trample under foot the interests and feelings of the non-Brahman community. The storm is brewing, and it is bound to burst. Where then will your dyarchy be? Non-Brahmans are certainly not concerned with the vindication of the principle of dyarchy, but with their own interests. Non-Brahman Ministry or non Non-Brahman Ministry, those interests have to be advanced, and the non-Brahman majority in the Council has no alternative but to look after these interests.

Justice, of the 7th June, writes:- "If the Madras Government should persist in filling these high posts with members of a certain community on all sorts of spurious pleas, if they should continue to treat the non-Brahmans as untouchables when these high posts are concerned, if they should be so perverse as to believe ~~when these high posts are concerned, if they should be so perverse~~ as to believe that attainments in the physical line transcend all other claims, if in fact

a sports champion be promoted as a District Judge, our non-Brahman councillors will, we have no doubt, adopt suitable remedial measures to see that such high jobbery is not permitted. The Government are probably within their rights in bestowing their patronage on whom they think fit, but so will our councillors be if they do not see their way to sanction any item of budget expenditure. With the majority which we now possess in the Council, it will not be a difficult task for us to bring the administration to a stand still and force the Governor to use his arbitrary powers for even the smallest items. We have been crying ourselves hoarse, justice is on our side, equity and fair play demands its and if in spite of all these, the Madras Government believe that they are a law unto themselves, we fail to see what other attitude our councillors could adopt as self-respecting citizens."

Referring to the appointment of Mr.K.P.Lakshmana Rao, B.A., B.L. as District Judge of Cuddapah, Justice, of the 9th June, writes The present appointment proclaims once again to the public that the Madras Government are determined never to change their policy, however much the non-Brahman tax-payers and their representatives may cry themselves hoarse over it. If three non-Brahman gentlemen are Ministers to day, it is because of the fact that the constituencies have returned a non-Brahman majority to the Legislative Council. These Ministers are, however, but flitting phantoms. "They are in their tenure of office depends on the pleasure and good will of the Legislative Council. Look at the permanent appointments? Whether Executive Council membership, High Court Judgeship, Advocate-Generalship, Collectorships, Presidentship of the Legislative Council, whatever may be the appointments, almost every one of them has gone to the Brahman aspirant. Why, even for the Diwanships of Native States under the control of the Madras Government, states in which the non-Brahmans are far

advanced and public spirited, Brahmans have been preferred.

We are still where we were five years ago; and if the non-Brahmans do not understand it, they deserve no better treatment; The talk about efficiency is all meaningless. Jobbery, favouritism, bureaucratic arrogance and self-sufficiency are rampant today. Non-Brahmans have accordingly to rely on themselves. They can make or mar their future. If the local bureaucracy is not interested in the success of dyarchy, it is absurd for that bureaucracy to imagine that the non-Brahmans would labour in that direction."

For the week ending 18th June, 1921.

Non Brahmans of the Andhra country.

78. In the course of an exhortation to the non-Brahmans of the Andhra country by a correspondent to the Nyayadipika, of the 7th June, asking them not to fall into the net of the non-co-operators, occur remarks such as the following:- It is regrettable that the Government is blind to the fact that many Brahmans, even though they receive their pay from the Government, are favourable to the non-co-operators and are helping them. To whatever place the non-co-operators go for the purpose of lecturing, it is the Brahman that occupies every post there from the Collector downwards to the karnam. It must be known that these officials help the non-co-operators.

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c 260

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

WEEKLY REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS:

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1921.

For the week ending 2nd July, 1921.

Judicial appointments and non-Brahmans.

42. The Dravidan, of the 20th June, reverts to this subject and, pointing to the necessity of closing the controversy regarding the appointment of Mr. Lakshmana Rao as District Judge, observes:-- To act in accordance with public opinion is the aim of the Government and both the previous Viceroy and the present one never thought of disregarding it. His Majesty the King Emperor also has made a similar declaration in the Proclamation issued by him. Every one will admit that the Legislative Councils reflect public opinion. While so, if the resolutions of these bodies are fiscarded, they will have to be considered only as debating societies and not as responsible bodies carrying on administrative work. The manner of making appointments to the Judicial service now followed in Madras and the sort of attention paid by the Government of Madras to the resolutions of the Legislative Council give room for many to think that no real good has resulted from the grant of such a Legislative Council and of the new reforms which form its basis. If there be truth in the rumour that the official members of the Legislative Council wanted to teach a lesson to the Council for its having attacked the system of making appointments followed by the High Court, it appears to us that a new situation has arisen in Madras requiring the careful attention of those who wish to see the reforms carried out in a proper manner. We want to know in this connexion whether the members of the Executive Council are doing their level best to shatter the reforms and so justify the opinion of the Congress

that the reformes are unsatisfactory and disappointing. We will only say that misunderstandings and differences in regard to lines of conduct between the Legislative and Executive Councils are always undersirable and that this may ultimately lead to the wrecking of the reforms. It does not appear proper to us that some high officials should set the resolution of the Legislative Council at naught. We therefore, want every one to note that, even at the beginning of the Legislative Council, its opinion has been disregarded. The case would have been different if this trial occurred some time after the new reforms had gained ground; but, as it is, it is likely to cause pain to all.

For the week ending 27th August, 1921.

Non-Brahman representation in the Government service.

49. In an article appearing in the Nyaya Dipika, of the 19th August, the following remarks are made with reference to Mr. Knapp's opposition to the resolutions moved in the recent Council by Mr.O.Thanikachallam Chetti:-- There are now two kinds of Brahmans to obstruct our development. The Europeans are big Brahmans and it is impossible to escape from them. But we can easily oppose our Brahman brothren and that is what Mr.Thanikachallam Chetti is now doing. Formerly in the Councils, both these kinds of Brahmans used to unite and divide the spoil. But now that the non-Brahman members are in a majority, Mr.Knapp is shedding tears. The Non-Brahmans will gradually occupy the places of both of these types of the Brahman, to England and the other to the forest to quietly make penance therein.

Non-Brahmans in the public service.

65. Criticising a ~~resolution~~ resolution moved at the Madras Legislative Council by Mr.Tanikachala Chetti, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 20th August, publishes a

262

communicated English article under this heading in which the follwing observations occur:-- I, for one, think that the anti-Brahman agitation is one that is bound, before long, to unhinge society and lead to the dawn of an era of fearful Bolshevism and anarchism in the world. Intelligent men rule either in heaven or hell. There is no middle course for them. I really lament the reactionary anti-Brahman spirit, India is not the only country where Brahmans exist. There are Brahmans all over the world. There are the white Brahmans the dark Brahmans, the brown Brahmans and the yellow Brahmans. Those who have combined in themselves the most cultivated interests and the most transcedental virtues of self-abstinate and self-control are Brahmans. There are Brahmans even among the depressed and the submerged classes. It is supremely silly and ruinous to hate real Brahmans. Hating good Brahmans is hating righteousness and hating God. I have been carefully watching the progress of events in India since the inauguration of the policy of 'divide and rule' in the Olympion heights of Simla began and made its way to Madras and Mysore. The policy of divide and rule' has created a racial ocean, and the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans are churning it. The terrible poison has begun to make an irresistible progress destroying the peace and prosperity that India enjoyed for a long time. There seems to be no Shiva to stem its tide. God save India and her innocent children!

"Now let me come to the point. Mr. Thanikachala Chetti has rendered the greatest disservice to India by moving the resolution referred to above. He advocates minimum qualifications for non-Brahmans and maximum qualifications for Brahmans. What does he mean by this? Does it not show that he wants the non-Brahmans, to drift themselves into unmitigated ignorance and inefficiency to cope with the modern conditions of official existence? This is an age in which those who are intellectually and spiritually strong will survive and the others go to the

wall. Mr.Chetti wants both the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans to go to the wall and tries to conceal his solicitude to rise on their ruins.

For the week ending 10th September, 1921.

3. Referring to the press communique, dated the 6th September, on this subject, Justice, of the 7th idem, writes:-

The Madras Mills troubles.

Now coming to the contents of this so-called 'reply' to the representation made to His Excellency the Governor by Sir Theagaroya Chetti and others of the non-Brahman party, what do they show? They show, in the first place, that the Government are not at all inclined to attach any importance to public opinion and public feeling in the matter of these disturbances, which have latterly taken a serious turn for the worse and become a positive danger to peace and order in the city. Secondly, there seems to us to be ample evidence in this wishy-washy document to indicate that the authorities are perfectly satisfied with the manner in which the situation has been handled by the police. And, thirdly, the Government also appear to be convinced of the innocence of the Audi-Dravidas who, according to them, are less to be reprobated for the present atmosphere of unrest and panic in the city than the caste Hindus and the Muhammadans. We must, however, permit, ourselves to say this, that not one of the above conclusions will be endorsed by the inhabitants of the city who are no whit less than the Government close observers of the various incidents that have recently transpired in connexion with these mills troubles. Public opinion, so far as we can gauge it, holds that the present deplorable state of affairs has been brought about partly at all events by the undue pampering of the Audi-Dravidas by the officials of the Labour Department, and partly by the perhaps, unconscious encouragement given to them by a few

police officers. Nor is it conceivable that their unrestricted possession of knives and other dangerous weapons will predispose them to keep themselves under control and not break out into violence and lawlessness. The police, too, have come in for much odium, but we admit that it is not possible for the higher officials of the Government, depending as they do for all the information about the latter day occurrences in the city on the underlings of the police themselves to be aware of it."

For the week ending 1st October, 1921.

The non-Brahman movement.

15. Remarking that the non-Brahman movement was started only to checkmate the machinations of the Brahman to keep the non-Brahmans down always, the Dravidan, of the 24th September, observes that there must be separate schools to educate the Dravida youths, manned completely by non-Brahman teachers and that there should also be a separate University for the non-Brahmans with a set of English or non-Brahman examiners and questions how there can be any objection for the demand of a University by the non-Brahmans who are in a vast majority when the Andhras demand one for themselves?

For the week ending 15th October, 1921.

Resignation of Brahman clerks in Bezwada.

37. Adverting to the action of seven Brahman clerks having resigned their acting appointments in the Taluk Office of Bezwada, the Dravidan, of the 8th October, remarks that no Brahman holding a permanent post has resigned the same, and observes that this also is one type of Brahman tactics.

265

For the week ending 22nd October, 1921.

22. A correspondent to the Dravidan, of the 11th October, details categorically selfishness, trickery, mischief, partiality for their own class, hatred and avarice as the traits of the Brahmans and makes the following remarks among others:-- Their selfishness is exhibited in their demanding immediate swaraj with the idea that they may thereby advance the cause of their class and, making other classes their servitors, retard the progress of the world. As regards their tactics, it is better to avoid it, realizing that it is directed only to grind down human beings. It is, again, the mischief of the Brahmans that goes under the name of non-co-operation and perpetrates many atrocities. Owing to their partiality for their own community, they defraud others without the least compassion. And it is indeed wonderful that the Psuedo Brahmans, who have not realised that deceit leads to destruction, should claim to work for the country. It is only the Lord that should vouchsafe. His grace and prevent our countrymen from destruction, being beguiled by the fraud of these people. Hatred is their main feature. They put themselves on a high level claiming that their community is superior to all others, that they alone have the divine halo about them, that they are well-versed in the scriptures and that they alone are entitled to conduct all auspicious ceremonies. It is only by this force of hatred that they fling the arrows of non-co-operation at the Government. Further, they have started this movement and endeavour to win swaraj, prompted only by their avarice. O! Brahman greed, curb your prestituting characteristic. Wait, the All-powerful God will condem your partiality.

The traits of Brahmans.

For the week ending 10th December, 1921.

60. A correspondent of the Aryavysya, of the 17th November,

condemns the non-Brahman movement as one instigated by Lord Pentland and writes:-- May the people understand this secret, sink their groundless differences, follow the non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi and accepted by the National Congress, and please mother India! If they do not do so, they will be traitors to the country.

The Non-Brahman movement.

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

WEEKLY REPORTS OF ENGLAND AND VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS:

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1922.

For the week ending 22nd April, 1922.

The Tanjore non-Brahman Conference.

24. Referring to this topic the Swadesamitran, of the 11th April, writes:- As Sir Muttayya Chettiyar has travelled far and wide and as he has a good knowledge and experience of politics, we hope that the bureaucrats, who think that they are the arbiters of India's destiny, will note his views on the Reforms and strive to conduct themselves accordingly. He has remarked that experience has clearly taught us the futility of diarchy on account of its intrinsic drawbacks; Though this opinion is nothing new, yet it is worthy of note. Some mention has to be made in this connexion of the manner in which the ministerial party of the Madras Presidency conducts itself in the Legislative Council. There is no reason for those that have faith in the work of the Council to object to this party supporting the Ministers though it is not bound to do so. But, as this party has also been supporting, as far as possible, the Executive Council with which the Ministers are co-operating, a false situation has been created in this Presidency, as the party has thereby given room for the Executive Council to profess that its administration, its frequent resort to repression and its political policy in other respects have the support of the people. The Executive Council could not, however, put forth this plea before the introduction of the Reforms but had to admit the accusation that it exercised absolute sway; Another curious feature has to be referred to by us in connexion with the method adopted by the ministerial party. In spite of the fact that the Ministers are not responsible to the people [and that their appointment or removal does not rest with the Legislative Council it is not becoming on their part to conduct themselves in such a way as to make the people] think that one of the popular parties is their own and it certainly appears to be improper under the present irresponsible system of administration that they should attend and speak at Non-

Brahman Conferences and other meetings. And it will also be consistent with the present political policy if they keep themselves aloof from parties and factions such as these. If the administration is reformed and is handed over entirely to Ministers responsible to the Legislature, then they can regard one political body as their own party. But for them to conduct themselves until then as they do at present, it will not only mislead the people but is also likely to be prejudicial to the interests of the public.

For the week ending 29th April, 1922.

The Coimbatore non-Brahman Conference.

42. Referring to the proceedings of this conference, the Swadesamitran, of the 25th April, observes:-- The remark of the president of this Conference that though we may not be granted the status of calling ourselves British subjects like the people of Australia and Canada, we should at least have the right to call ourselves human beings, clearly brings out the status of the Indians in the British Empire. We wish to note again in this connection that we have already pointed out the impropriety of the Ministers visiting in their official capacity, all places where conferences are held and evincing their sympathy for the non-Brahman party. We would invite attention to the remarks of the Daily Express, on this subject, to the effect that the Ministers find work in places where party conferences are held and their tour charges are met from the funds of Government.

For the week ending 13th May, 1922.

71. The Nyaya Dipika, of the 1st May, refers to the policy of

269

'retrenchment in the public services' now adopted by the Madras Government, and says that this works great hardship to the non-Brahman Government officials, especially to the low-paid among them, who are now sent away by hundreds and thousands though they had put in a service of ten years and more. It further says that, even in spite of the policy of the Government which is to secure a fair representation of all communities in public services, the higher officials who are Brahmans take advantage of this retrenchment policy and make it a point to sent away mostly non-Brahman officials. Finally, it requests the members of the Legislative Council and the Ministers to take up at once this question for consideration and relieve the distress of the poor non-Brahmana communities.

The sad plight of the non-Brahman Government officials.

For the week ending 10th June, 1922.

The Madras Government and the non-Brahmans.

49. Remarking that, while it will be very difficult for a man to pull on with two wives there can be no happiness for a man who has four wives, the Sourashtra, of the 27th May, refers to the news published in the Servant about what Sri Sankara Achariyar said in a recent speech of his in Calcutta, reminding his audience of the words of Sir B.Fuller when he was the Governor of Bengal, and observes:-- Sir B.Fuller said that the Hindus and the Muhammadans were like the two wives of that Government and that the Mussalman wife alone was treated with special partiality. Thus, he himself has admitted the partiality of the Government! Similarly, the Madras Government too has four wives, viz, the Brahmans, the non-Brahmans, Muhammadans and Christians. And experience itself will prove that greater partiality is now shown towards the non-Brahman wife alone. If so, we need not describe what the attitude of the other wives will be.

For the week ending 17th June, 1922.

32. Remarking that many are unnecessarily blaming the non-Brahman movement for the present financial stringency and attribute the same to the high salaries paid to the Ministers, the Dravidan, of the 8th June, observes: Innumerable Englishmen and Brahmans have till now drawn salaries in thousands and they are doing so even to-day. Will the world come to an end by only three non-brahmans drawing high salaries at present? If the salaries of all people are reduced and all unnecessary items of expenditure are done away with, the Ministers too are ready to have their salaries reduced. But the Brahmans who are not in favour of such a reduction and who are even intent on their own gain, make much of the salaries of the Ministers, screening all the rest. Apart from this, we have not yet been given complete powers and, in such a situation, how can the Ministers do anything freely?

The Non-Brahman movement and the present financial stress.

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

REPORT ON ENGLISH & VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS:

JULY TO DECEMBER 1922.

For the week ending 15th July, 1922.

The attitude of the Government of India towards Brahmans.

47. Reiterating its view that the Government of India are fully possessed of the mania for Brahmans, the Dravidan, of the 4th July, observes:-- In spite of our remonstrances, the Government of India are very persistent in their views. As recently pointed out by a correspondent to the Justice, three high appointments of Superintendents of Post offices have been given to Brahmans, who are none other than a son of the Right Hon'ble Mr.Srinivasa Sastriyar who sold away India to Australia, a close relation of the Hon'ble Mr.B.N.Sarma and a son of the Hon'ble Mr.T.Ranga Achariyar. Perhaps Mr.Sarma being the head of the Postal Department in the Government of India, he decided to give these appointments only to Brahmans. Good indeed is his administration! If sons of high officials alone go on getting high posts how are the sons of the poor tax-payers ~~in Madras have raised an outcry?~~ to secure such posts? If any of our Ministers had done such an act, will not the Brahman newspapers in Madras have raised an outcry? We can fearlessly characterise the Government of India as an administration by Brahmans.

For the week ending 22nd July, 1922.

The non-Brahman Movement and the delta taluks.

89. In its leader under this heading, the Godavaripatrika, of the 4th July, writes:-- In addition to the differences between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans in the Amalapur and Razole taluks, there have arisen disputes among Rajus, Kapus, Setti-Balijas, and the

Adi-Andhras who are all non-Brahmans. The Setti-Balijas now say that they will no longer be palanquin-bearers nor serve the landlords. This had led to a growth of hostilities between the Setti-Balijas and the rest of the non-Brahmans. The Adi-Andhras have made common cause with the Setti-Balijas and there was a regular scuffle between the latter and the Kapus at the fair held at Mummidivaram in December 1921. The Collector did not interfere. Subsequently, there were cases of looting in the houses of Brahmans. Many are now leaving their homes in Mummidivaram. Those who remain have sold away their jewels, and without keeping money in their homes spend their time, holding their lives in their hands. Government announced that they would open the canals fifteen days later than usual. For a week after they have been opened, water was let into the fields. There is a strong rumour that the Government are preparing statistics as to how many non-co-operators there are in the several villages, where they have got lands and the classes to which such fields belong. If this is true, opportunity is afforded for the subordinate officers to include in the lists those whom they do not like and wreak their vengeance on them. We request that the representatives of the Andhra country in the Madras Legislative Council will do their duty in regard to these matters at its next meeting in August.

<u>For the week ending 5th August, 1922.</u>

The Judicial Department and the non-Brahmans.

36. The Dravidan, of the 26th July, publishes a contribution from the pen of a correspondent who remarks that the mind of the non-Brahmans who see that most of the posts in the Madras High Court are given

to Brahmans, as though the resolution of the local legislative council on the subject does not bind the Judicial Depatment, will no doubt be wounded and makes the following observations among others:-- O English Government! I ask if it is the justice of the English Government to forget the taxes, etc., that are paid thereto by the non-Brahmans who form the vast majority of the people of this Presidency and the protection afforded by them during the great war and to give posts to Brahmans alone who are possessed of the wicked idea of overthrowing the Government. Is it not the duty of an administration to administer equal justice to all its subjects? May the bureaucracy realize, at least hereafter, that it is their duty not to disregard the non-Brahmans in any way but to give them high appointments in the Madras High Court and in the mufasal and thus to spread loyalty more and more!

For the week ending ~~xxxx~~ 9th September, 1922.

Communal representation in the public service.

47. Taking strong exception to the condemnation by the New India of the recent order of the Government on this subject as an unjust one, the Dravidan, of the 31st August, remarks that the oppression of the non-Brahmans by the 'deceitful' Brahmans has continued from ancient times and observes:-- In the British Government also, these Brahmans were appropriating all the rights and privileges. When the non-Brahmans demand their rights now, those enjoyed by the Brahmans should naturally be curtailed a little. Till now thousands of Brahmans have got into government offices and, if all these are to be promoted according to their seniority, when are the non-Brahmans to have any chance? So, it is but right and proper that, in consideration of the impropriety of their

having entered the public offices in excessive numbers, they should suffer a little at present. Hence, the order of the Government in question is at once appropriate and just, and cannot be said to be objectionable in any way.

For the week ending 23rd September, 1922.

Condemning the Brahmans.

36. Writing about the spirit of clannishness which is xxxxxxxx discernible even in the non-Brahman movement, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 12th September, observes:-- After the starting of the non-Brahman movement, many elections took place for the various local bodies. Did any member of the Christian community or one of the depressed classes succeed in them? What is the use of merely making at random grand speeches about the uplift of the non-Brahman community, and publishing them in the press and on the platform? Is it right to blame the Brahmans as michievous on one side, and introduce, on the other, the Kamma, the Reddi, and the Kapu autocracy, without taking into consideration the (well being of the) xxxx non-Brahman community as a whole? Was separate communal representation to the exclusion of the Brahmans obtained only for this purpose?

For the week ending 30th September, 1922.

What have the Brahmans done?

53. In the course of a letter under this heading, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 19th September, makes, among, others, the following remarks:-- At first, the British came to this country for trade. It was trade which gave them an abode m

in this country. It was commercial advancement which raised their administration to the status of an Empire. They are still treating this country with a commercial attitude. It is commerce again which is the refuge for them to liberate themselves from the present situation. Even in the future, their Empire will depend upon their relations with this country. Signs were in evidence that with the operation of re-enacted laws, they would be able to realize their wishes. They believed that there would be no obstruction to the working of the laws framed in accordance with their line of thought. They resolved to curtail still further. Gradually they began to interfere even with the immemorial and the traditional rights of the people and restrict them by the power of legislation so as to suit them to the realization of their wish. The entry of the members into the newly established Legislative Council was useful in explaining how the principles of the Acts to be newly framed would adversely affect the interests of the people, and also in enabling the legislators to make the necessary arrangements to combat the evil consequences which arise therefrom. But it was not useful in setting aside those that [would clash with the wishes of the people, and in replacing them by] those which were in accordance with their progess. The Legislative Council, constituted on new ideals began to work. It was impressive in the beginning for a while. But gradually the effect was marred, and perversity began to creep in. At last, the symptoms of an impending breakdown became manifest. They tried to hold by being stiff and tight, but times were favourable(?) The objects of the Legislative Council and the importance of popular representation became obvious even to the illiterate masses. The hope that the business of the Council would go on as usual was frustrated.

It has also been shown that the use of influential representation is worthless. Acts which conduce to the country

276

advancement are not to be found, and those which can control the activities of the people suited to their national traditions have become rampant. The leaders of the people have characterised such laws as not inviolable, and a feeling of disgust is implanted in the hearts of the people that it is better to violate them. They (the British) have said that it would not do to govern this country, following the procedure adopted in their own land, for they have classified the constitution of the Government under the three heads, confiscation, condemnation, and conquest, and have put forth the plea that, as this country has been acquired by conquest, the principles which govern the rest cannot be applied to it. It is because the attempts of the Government have been opposed by the Brahman officials that they have been able to safely govern this country till now.

For the week ending 7th October, 1922.

The revolt of Mr.O. Kandaswami Chettiar.

63. Reviewing the proceedings of the Adi-Dravida conference held at Chidambaram, in a note under this heading, the Nyaya Dipika, of the 28th September, observes:-- It is clearly false, that the non-Brahman movement is based on the union of the Adi-Dravidas and the other non-Brahman Hindus and also that the former have helped the non-Brahman movement. We wish that the Government should treat the depressed classes in the same way as they did during the time of Doctor Nair. It becomes persons like Mr.O. Kandaswami Chettiyar to attack a movement which has greatly cleared up the political atmosphere of our presidency!

For the week ending 28th October, 1922.

50. In commenting upon the speech of Mr.O.Kandaswami Chettiyar as the president of the Adi-Dravida conference at Chidambaram, the Sutandiran, of the 8th October, observes xxxx in a leader under the subscription 'V.R.(:-- This gentleman asked the Adi Dravidas to rely upon Englishmen. This is a mistake. Self-confidence is the best thing. Mr.Madurai Pillai stated at the conference held at Chingleput that the Adi-Dravidas could have salvation only if they relied upon the non-Brahmans. There is a wide gulf between democracy and the Justice party, which deems appointment under Government alone to be the end and aim of life. This party has not the heart and the principle to raise the glory of man and so the advice of Madurai Pillai cannot avail. Mr. Gandhi has demonstrated by his conduct that the Congress movements is a movement of the poor, being full of real love. The Adi-Dravidas should no longer stand out kha of the Congress in hesitation.

The Adi-Dravidas.

For the week ending 4th November, 1922.

44. Referring to the Government Orders issued for the Purpose of securing proper representation for the non-Brahmans in the Government offices, the Dravidan, of the 27th October, asks why the Brahmans should be jealous of these orders which only render justice to the non-Brahmans, and observes:-- We agree that our Brahman brethren also should be

Communal representation.

represented in proportion to their population. But these Brahmans twist the object with which we are fighting for equal representation and make a vain noise. It is these that have been injuring us for a long time; but we have been always helping them with fodd and clothing. This fact the whole world knows well. Mrs. Sorojini Nayudu, who presided over a meeting of non-co-operators on the beach x recently, asks whether it is just to punish our Brahman brethren now for the sinful acts of their ancestors. She is commmitting a mistake by the very use of the word 'punish'. We try only to safeguard our birthrights and our share in worldly life. Our righteous movement has not the least idea of causing hardships to or degrading any one class.

For the week ending 16th December, 1922.

The Justice party.

109. The Navasakti, of the 8th December, refers to certain communications appearing in the Hindu about the Justice party and, remarking that the truth about this party, which was proclaimed to be a democratic party, although the majority of the non-Brahmans characterized it to be a minor party supporting the bureaucracy, has now become patent, says:-- Real democrats, who found that the craze of this party to hunt after offices and titles was growing day by day, have begun to withdraw from it. We fear that some learned men including Mr.C.Ramalinga Reddi are going to sever their connection with this party and start an independent non-Brahman movement. We would, however suggest the desirability of these people joining the non-co-operation movement of Mr. Gandhi and working in that direction rather than starting a separate movement of their own.

For the week ending 23rd December,1922.

50. In its leader the Andhraprakasika writes:--

The non-Brahman movement

We are sorry that there is none who attempts to know the present state of the non-Brahman movement. Clear it is to the outside world the ill-will and the indifference of the Tamil non-Brahmans towards the Telegu non-Brahmans and vice versa. Selfishness, self-esteem, a thirst for places, a desire for authority, and a love of flattery, are rampant. Not even one non-Brahman has come out to remove them. All are attempting to become commanders-in-chief. Can the world hold them when all the soldiers become commanders-in-chief? Does one become valiant as soon as one learns to stroke one's moustaches. Differences of opinion are on the increase day by day. The originators of the non-Brahman movement are the members of the Justice party. There are several reasons to say that the views of this body are very intricate. We thought that misgivings would arise, if one of Mr. Ramalinga Reddi's abilities were to join the Justice party, which is being tossed about on the waters of a thirst for higher appointments. So it has happened. It will be well to remedy this state of things. Ruin will surely overtake the movement if it is not done immediately. Times have changed, and with it, the vision of the people and their opinions also. The views and the outlook of the Justice party have not changed. Great men among the non-Brahmans think that the Ministers are a selfish set of people, who cannot abandon their desire for high appointments. Who are the doctors that can cure the malady which has overtaken the movement? Its evil features cannot be removed if the Ministers still occupy their positions. At least one of them should resign his appointment, make a tour in the province, and lay strong foundations for the movement itself. If not, destruction will surely befall it. It is well if one of them

tries to become a member of the Council of State, and the other two try for seats in the Legislative Assembly, as it is no use to sit idle in the Provincial Legislative Council alone.

51. Referring to a fight between the Ryot and the Nyaya Dipika regarding the conduct of Rao Bahadur P.C.N. Ethirajulu Nayudu, a correspondent to the Andhraprakasika observes:--
What are the non-Brahman leaders doing in this matter? Does not even one of them know what is good language and what is bad language? Do they not read the criticisms in these two papers, and do they express their approval of them or keep quiet unable to do anything? It is already too late. We believe that the non-Brahman leaders will do well to open their eyes, and do good to their community, by putting down its internal dissensions, which are highly prejudicial to the non-Brahman movement.

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THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT.

WEEKLY REPORTS ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR PAPERS

JANUARY TO ~~JULY~~ June 1923.

For the week ending 6th January, 1923.

The non-Brahaman confederation.

88. In commenting upon the presidential address at this confederation, the Dravidan observes:-- The statement made by some fools that the non-Brahman movement has been started as a result of the machinations of the bureaucracy is quite false. The wickedness of the Brahmans had begun to exhibit itself several centuries ago. The remark of Mr.Lathe, that all representative institutions like Legislative Councils had better be abolished if the Government are going to abide by the counsel of the bureaucrats without retrenching the unnecessary expenditure, is a reasonable one. It is an unjust act to deem the institutions to be representative only in name and make the representatives acts according to the words of the bureaucrats.

89. Ahent the resolution passed at this confederation regarding the mirasidars of the Tanjore district, the Swadesamitran observes:-- If the Justice party had really any sympathy for these mirasidars, it should have exhibited itself on the 17th November. Had they all given their votes in favour of the resolution moved on the day, the collection of land-tax at the increased rate might have been prevented. What benefit can the Tanjore mirasidars derive by a resolution passed in this confederation? Will the Government cancel their order in view of this resolution? This is nothing but a device to make the miradidars think that the Justice party is sumpathetic towards them. It appears that the Honourable Ministers were present during the session.

Why did not any one of them or any of the leaders of the Justice party here move the resolution, state the reasons for their having already betrayed the mirasidars to the Government and promise to secure a remedy for the mirasidars by bringing up the same subject again in the Legislative Council?

For the week ending 13th January, 1923.

E.V.Ramaswami Nayakar at Arni.

53. The Sukhodayam publishes a speech said to have been delivered at Arni on the 17th December, 1922 by Mr. E.V.Rama swami Nayakar, in which the following observations find place among others:-- The present government is not intended for our benefit. It is an irresponsible administration that is being conducted. As a result of this rule, we have become slaves to foreigners, lost our education and got immersed in poverty. The only way for us to get out of this situation is to attain swaraj either through satyagraha and non-violence or by force. It is the former course that we should adopt. The Government are now adopting three methods, namely threats, arrest and distraint. They have tried the first two methods and given them up as useless. They have just begun to try the third. We shall see how far it succeeds. Leaving alone the officials drawing high salaries, ordinary police head constables, clerks and other subordinate officials draw a very low salary which is not adequate and rob the people for their wants. There is no official who does not take a bribe. According to our Puranas, there used to be one rest-house for every fifty yards and one choultry for every hundred yards in ancient days. But, in the days of our Government, there is a toddy-shop for every fifty yards, a police station for every hundred yards

and a sub-jail for every twenty yards.

For the week ending 20th January, 1923.

63. The Andhra Patrika remarks:-- Differences of opinion in regard to principles may be excused. But it is impossible to get over the differences of opimion which arise in ragard to the sharing of profit. It is only an account of that reason that the Justice party is breaking into pieces. How long can a party depend on hatred towards Brahmans? There is no sure tie which can bind the 'Justice' party. There is no constructive work carried on by that body. Both the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans are equally suffering political servitude. Both have sunk to the bottom. The movement of the Justice party could spread only among a handful of the educated non-Brahmans but could not influence the masses. There is no separate community known as the non-Brahman community. There are innumerable subdivisions in it. The non-Brahman movement could not remove the individual differences of the several subdivisions. There is no use if Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar shuts his eyes to the true causes which dismember the 'Justice' party.

The non-Brahman party.

For the week ending 27th January, 1922.

47. Remarking that it is no exaggeration to say that the pseudo Brahmans were, by means of spurious shastras relating to social and religious questions, keeping the non-Brahmans under their control, the Dravidan writes As they have been, for a long time, leading a happy life

Non Brahmans and Government appointments.

with the help of the Dravidas, they do not like to relinquich this prerogative. No facilities were provided for the Dravidas to advance in education and, as a result of the sectarian differences which cropped up among them on account of the machinations of these Brahmans, our people lost their union. However, through the broad principled British administration, the co-operation of the western countries and the advance of modern civilization, a sense of self respect and self-consciousness were engendered in our people, the result of it being the present movement. Further, our people form the majority of the population. It is they that pay the largest amount of tax to Government and that hold some of the responsible posts in the military. This being the case why should these Brahmans oppose us seeking communal representation on these grounds? Though it is one of the basic principles of British administration that the rights which one possessed in the government are commensurate with one's capacity to pay taxes, sufficient representation is not granted to Non-Brahmans who are the very foundation of the finances of the Government. These Brahmans have deceived the British bureaucrats by professing that they are only the people who are much advanced in learning. Though it is a fact that the percentage of educated men among the non-Brahmans has not risen in proportion to their numbers, it is completely wrong to say that there are not sufficient number of educated men among them to hold several high appointments. It is a world-known fact that it is through the machinations of the Brahman officials that the number of non-Brahmans in service has not increased. We want communal representation so that our people who form the majority may be adequately employed under the government. If our people do not thus secure appointments, the Government of our country will never become a responsible one. Mr. L. Ramayya Pantulu of the Legislative Assembly has given notice

of resolution that in selecting people for several appointments, character and educational qualifications, and not the question of communal representation, should be taken into consideration. But the Government should do justice to our people in view of the several reasons set forth above.

Hatred of Brahmans.

59. Under this heading the Sampad Abhyudaya in an English article observes:-- If the speeches of the Raja of Panagal and others who took a leading part in the discussions (at the fourth Godavari Non-Brahman Conference) are put on their trial, disinterested people will at once see that those who speak on the part of the non-Brahmans consisting of a thousand and one communities pose as the representatives of the Million-headed community without any brief from any one of them. The interests of thousands of non-Brahman communities are criminally left in the back ground and a few Rajas and Chettis pose as the representatives of all non-Brahman communities. The cat will soon be out of the bag. And the disinterested public will soon give their verdict whether those who have a lion's share in this exploitation business are the accredited representatives of the submerged ten thousand who are the victims of autocrats, plutocrats and bureaucrats who shower lip sympathies to the down-trodden, and feather their own nests at the expense of all without regard to caste, colour or creed."

For the week ending 3rd February, 1923.

The Brahmans of Southern India.

36. Remarking in the course of a leader condemnatory of the Brahmans that, though the Brahmans of Southern India profess to be highly intelligent,, their present avocation consists only in resorting to education, cooking or beggary for livelihood, the

Dravidan observes:-- Does this connote intelligence? It indicates, not intelligenc , but a wily attempt to satisfy their selfish ends at any cost. Their intelligence cannot be of any use either to the progress of the country or to the public good; nor will the Government be profited by people of this kind.

37. The Pinakini Patrika writes:- It is our firm belief that, inasmuch as service (under Government) is dog's service, no man of self respect should wish for it. We heartily concur with those who say, that such a service is quite unfit for a Brahman to do...... But there are many things yet to be done for the uplift of the non-Brahman community. The spread of education is the first. They have also to work in the direction of minimising the drink-evil. Let me make this request to the Brahmans. O Brahmans! You are selling your knowledge, having become slaves to the desire for wealth. Potana, who could not have even fried grain flour to eat, until he had cultivated the land, refused to sell even one of his books to the king, though the latter had offered to give agraharams to the former. But, you have sold your profession itself to your rulers. The pleasures of independence cannot be understood by one, who is in service. If you break the bonds of slavery, which have bound you, with courage, you can live a happier and a more honourable life than this. If you do not have that courage, at least try and save your sons from those bonds. Does not the Aryan blood run through your veins? Have you lost all self-respect? Is it your desire that, with you, even your family should get itself bound by these bonds of service? Do you not feel that infamy has befallen you, when people say that the Brahman dharma has become soiled only through you? Consider!

Brahmans and Govt.service.

287

For the week ending 19th February, 1923.

The Brahman-non-Brahman qudstion.

28. Anent the speech delivered by the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri at the Ripon club in Bombay on the occasion of a dinner given in his honour, the Nyaya Dipika remarks:-- The Brahmans are also foreigners to India as are the British. The English have been ruling India for the last one century and a half. The Brahmans, coming into India from Central Asia three thousand years ago, put down the ancient inhabitants of the country, have created disaffection among them by bringing into being, racial, religious, and caste differences, and have been commanding the Indians ever since. Modern history clearly shows that India cannot progress unless the Brahman arbitraniness, which has been rendering the society impotent under the pretext of social customs, is destroyed. Mr.Sastri says that union cannot exist in the Hindu society on account of the Brahman and non-Brahman disputes. However, the Brahman and non-Brahman differences have not been brought into being by the non-Brahmans, but by the Brahmans themselves. Nothing is stranger than that Mr.Sastri should think that the non-Brahmans should suffer eternally under Brahman arbitrariness.

For the week ending 3rd March, 1923.

The Dravidan and the officials.

30. The Dravidan publishes a letter from a correspondent from Vaniyambadi complaining that certain local officials are intimidating non-Brahmans not to subscribe for it and observes:-- The pseudo-Brahmans, not stopping with enjoying the sole monopoly of all Government posts, are also intriguing to prevent the advancement of the

non-Brahmans in the political field. This device is not patent to the higher officials who are Englishmen. The Brahmans, who form a small class, have been and are still trying to keep down the non -Brahmans, who are in the Majority, not only in society and religion but also in the political field. We request the Government and our representatives in the Legislative Council to do the needful to prevent the action of persons who try to obstruct the progress of our people.

The Non Brahman movement

51. Anent the remark of the Doodle, that the Non-Brahman movement has been started for the uplift of the Andhra ~~hasxwamxaxpkaxxxinxthe~~ alone, the Nyaya Dipika observes: Till 1914. when the Andhra movement started, no high office could be secured by the Andhras. The two instances, namely, that an Andhra has won a place in the Imperial Executive Council; and that another Andhra has obtained the position of a High Court Judge in Madras are nothing, when compared with the innumerable appointments held by the Tamilians. Some Brahman papers and some others like the Doodle, which long for the praise of the Brahmans confuse the people by giving them false information, with the evil intention of obstructing the great movement started by Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar. However, the people, who are endowed with wisdom, cannot be easily misled. Referring to the speech made at the Rotary Club of Calcutta by the Right Hon'ble, Mr.V. S. Sastri, the Nyaya Dipika, remarks:-- No Non-Brahman had filled a high place either in the civil service or in public life before the principle of communal representation was put into force. It is regrettable that our opponents do not understand that, unless all the communities made progress, the country

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cannot attain self-government. Who will believe in the words of Mr.Sastri that many evils will result from the principle of communal representation? We strongly believe that, whatever any one may say, the Non-Brahmans cannot be so foolish as to forego their wisdom, and repose their faith in the artful pit of nationalism, giving up the means of quenching their thirst from 'the Ganges-like communal representation'.

For the week ending 7th April, 1923.

33. Remarking that the pseudo-Brahmans are libelling the non-Brahman movement and its organ as abusing and doing harm to them, the Dravidan observes:-- It is these Brahmans that kept our people down and still wish to do so. It is they that disparaged our people and ruined them. Instead of feeling grateful to our people, who helped and who are still helping them (the Brahmans) by giving food and clothing and by establishing charities for their support, they cleverly pushed our people down in the social and religious spheres. The backwardness of our community in educational advancement and religious feeling is due only to the pseudo shastras of the pseudo-Brahmans. Now, they are trying to lower us in the political field also. Our people are trying to regain their lost rights in the fields of religion, society and politics and to elevate themselves. How can this effort be an unreasonable one?

The Brahmans and the non-Brahman movement.

For the week ending 28th April, 1923.

42. The Deenabandhu publishes a memorial from the pen of

280

some members of the depressed classes in which they say

Non-Brahman movement among the depressed classes.

that the alleged object of the non-Brahman movement, namely, the uplifting of the masses, is a mere sham, that like Brahmans who occupying Government appointments, turned, out to be traitors to the country and its people, the higher classes among the non-Brahmans also have appropriated Government appointments to themselves and replaced the demon of the high-handedness of the Brahmans by the demon of that of the higher classes among the non-Brahmans, in order to keep the depressed classes always under subjection. The memorialists say that the depressed classes are very inadequately represented in the local bodies and in the Legislative Councils and pray that they may be allowed adequate separate representation. The Nyaya Dipika condemns the attitude of the deputation headed by Mr.M.C.Raja that waited on Lord Willingdon and observes that it was ungrateful on the part of the Adi Dravidas and the Adimandhras to represent to His Excellency that the non-Brahman leaders had been indifferent to the interests of the depressed classes, and adds that there are other backward classes also wanting representation in the Councils as much as the Panchamas.

~~Raxxthaxwaakxanding~~

Brahman moderates and the councils.

45. Referring to ~~[illegible]~~ the resolution of the Brahman moderates in Madras to eschew the Legislative Councils the Gundur Patrika observes. If the moderates, who always hanker after offices become really pure-minded and eschew government service, which is condemned by our Sastras as Swavritti (dog's profession) and along with it the Legislative Councils, they will do great good to both the Brahmans and to Hindus. The moderates inspired with a love for offices have no such lofty ideas. If all political parties confer with the leaders of the non-Brahmans and

pursuade them to allow only non-co-operating non-Brahmans to stand, all interests are served. If the 'Justice party' act with generous impulses, they cannot but consent to the entry of non-co-operators of their own class. If they fail to do so, their evil motives will be revealed to the people and their prestige will be undervalued. Facilities will thereby be afforded for non-co-operating non-Brahmans entering councils and carrying on work in con-firmity with the methods of non-co-operation.

For the week ending 5th May, 1923.

33. The Swadesamitran reproduces in Tamil the Presidential speech of ~~Sir~~ Sir.P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar delivered at this conference held at Kovur on the 21st idem and observes:-- The main gist of the speech is that all the good achieved by the administration during the past few years is the result of the labourers of the 'Justice party'. He has taken credit for the reduction of expenditure consequent upon the retrenchment effected in several departments of the Government. But when the administration became impossible without the abolition of certain posts, their abolition could not be avoided. In blaming the non-co-operators, Mr.Chettiyar has stated that they might have worked out one item of their programme successfully to a certain extent and that is the use of swadeshi goods. But what has Mr.Chettiyar's party done to help the successful working of this movement either in their official or private capacity? While, in other provinces, the Ministers and high officials at least spoke appreciatively of the charka and said that they wanted to bring it into use all over the country, the Ministers in this Presidency made fun of it.

The Nellore District Non-Brahman Conference.

Mr.Chettiyar believes that the benefits conferred by his party on the agriculturists will be remembered by them for generations. It seems that it was due to them that the Government have changed their policy in regard to the resettlement question and have been made to view the affairs of the agriculturists from the standpoint of the latter. It is perhaps due to the result of their action that resettlement will come into effect in the Tanjore district from the next fasli. The action of the 'Justice party' in the Legislative Council in connection with the resettlement in Tanjore will itself suffice for not returning them to the Council again. Mr. Chettiyar boasts of having got many laws passed by the Council; How is it difficult for those having a majority to pass any law as they desire? And again who have been benefited by laws like the University Act, passed by this party? Even the question as to whether they are beneficial or harmful can be decided by the people only after some years. Mr. Chettiyar admits in his speech that the people are overburdened with taxation and that they cannot stand any more of it. The increased salt-tax has added to the sufferings of the people; why could not Mr.Chettiyar's party object to it? If they wish to act in consonance with the Government, how can the people have the confidence to return them to the council again? The Dravidan observes:-- The pseudo-Brahmans, who have for years, been keeping the non Brahmans under subjection by means of several tactics and false shastras, have not given up their wicked machinations even now. They try to secure influence in the field of politics for themselves by professing to work for the cause of the country and for the good of all. If the non-Brahmans should sleep at this juncture, which is favourable for the growth of democracy, it is the selfish rule of the pseudo-Brahmans that holds men under subjection and not the British rule which grants equality that will prosper. The old unjust law of Manu will again come forward to pull us down from our slightly raised position. So we must work very hard now, as complete responsible Government is our goal.

will again come forward to pull us down from our slightly raised position. So we must work very hard now, as complete responsible government is our goal.

For the week ending 12th May, 1923.

46. Interrogating as to what the present non-Brahman Government have done for the cause of the Adi-Andhras, a correspondent to the Andhra Patrika observes:-- Though, many a time, the leaders who are now occupying the Ministers' posts and their followers have said that the Panchamas come under the Non-Brahman classes like other communities except that of the Brahmans and that they would uplift the depressed classes very soon, they have not done anything worth mentioning, even though they possess such a big government in their hands. Let alone that. When liberal minded gentlemen worked for us in the Legislative Council, they came in our way and got those resolutions defeated. If a report is prepared and published as to what the Non-Brahman Ministry and their followers have actually done for us cause during the last three years, the world will certainly come to know the long and short of their administration. How many house-building societies have they established? How many Panchamas have improved economically through their help? What difference in educational development is discernible between the old system and the present? How many families have been given grants of land? What donations have they paid to depressed class mission societies? What have they done to reduce the drink habit among them? What amount of communal representation have they given us in local bodies? How many times have these Ministers toured to our villages in order to learn our grievances? Though separate communal

representation has been granted to us by the Government in the various local bodies, most of the posts are conferred upon Christians alone as a result of the machinations of the influential missionaries. In 1922-23, one Panchama and one Christian were separately appointed to represent the two communities in the Kaikalur Taluk Board, but this year, only a Christian representative is appointed to the Gudivada Taluk Board, but not a Panchama. From this,one will see that their idea is to make the Panchama community go without any representation at all. Spending hundreds and thousands of rupees by way of salaries, the Government have appointed certain officials in the Labour department. They have done practically no work. Mr.Paddison, the head of this department, has given the follwing advice when he came to Masulipatam recently:-- 'The Government have not got sufficient money which is necessary to uplift the depressed classes; so, you must depend upon yourselves, and God will certainly help those who help themselves'. This is the essence of the results of his work in the Labour department where he has quietly worked all along on a fat salary. Besides, to assist him certain Labour Tahsildars are also being appointed. Though there are educated Panchamas available all over the country at the present day, these appointments are given only to the Christians. May the Government and the country's leaders tread along the just path at least hereafter, and help to bring about the development of the Adi-Andhras!

<u>For the week ending 26th May, 1923.</u>

46. Commenting upon the presidential address of Dr.C. Natesa Mudaliyar in the Malabar Non-Brahmane Conference, the Swadesamitran observes:- He has voiced the cry that

non-Brahmans alone should be returned to the Legislatures. We do not object to returning non-Brahmans alone. But the non-Brahmans of the Justice party do not seem to have any right in this matter. We are glad that Mr.Mudaliyar admits that the Mappilla rebellion was the outcome of the hardships suffered by the agriculturists in Malabar. He agrees that the ryots should have a certain right in the land. Will his party accept this principle and work for it? It does not seem to be prepared to do so, and it is suggested that the Government may be approached on this subject. The hardships of the ryots in Malabar are not of yesterday's growth. They have existed for generations and the Government have not legislated to reduce them till now. We have to conclude that they will not dare to legislate even hereafter, and so they should be compelled to do so. Will the 'Justice' party do it? Mr. Mudaliyar has condemned the doubling of the salt tax. Why has not his party condemned it? It states that retaliatory measures should be adopted with regard to the Colonials in whose countries Indians are harassed. A resolution on these lines has been passed by the Bombay municipality. Why should not a similar resolution be passed by the Madras municipality? Neither Mr.Mudaliyar nor his party have explained its ideal. This party has been judged and found wanting. It came into power and, while enjoying power, the leaders thereof forgot the democratic principle which is the foundation of the party. Will the members of the party seek public support even hereafter?

The Justice party.

For the week ending 2nd June, 1923.

3. Swarajya remarks:- The inevitable has happened. The leaders of the Non-Brahmans party after abusing the Brahmans and doing everything in their power to injure them, have fallen out among themselves. For some time, now, there have been loud murmurs in the camp that the leaders of the movement fell away from what were imagined to be high ideals of the late Doctor Nair, that they sought to perpetuate the ascendancy of a narrow clique, that the services of some adherents were not properly rewarded, and that the whole movement was heading to destruction. The Workers' conference which proved a fiasco, offered an opportunity to the discontented elements in the party to insist that their grievences shall be heard. Messrs. Ramalingam Chettiyar and Ramanathan did not mince matters. They demanded that the party leaders should take stock of the situation, and invite the divergent elements to coalesce, so that in future the party organization may not be the plaything of an autogratic Cabal. Sir Tyagaraya left the hall, the conference was dissolved, and the public is left to speculate as to the future career of a party that neither knows how to retain power, nor how to utilize that power to the Nation's advantage. The party's record is nothing creditable, and the peasants and the poorer classes know that the party that pretended to safeguard their interests, was in very truth the means of heaping up wrong upon wrong and adding to the burdens of an already over-burdened population. With neither ideals nor ability, the party has utilized its period of office not merely to further the worldly advancement of its henchmen, but to systematically set itself in opposition to call progressive movemements".

The Non-Brahman split.

For the week ending 9th June, 1923.

The split in the Justice camp.

34. The Andhra Pattrika observes:-- For a long time we have known that there have been dispites and little bickerings among the various sections of the Justice party; In fact, this is an open secret. Now this came out clearly in the conference which was recently held at the Soundarya Mahal. Though owing to a desire for offices, the non-Brahmans have led a campaign against the Brahmans ~~have led a campaign against~~ they themselves have not come to a definite understanding as regards the distribution of shares. As the disputes are mostly with regard to the loaves and fishes of office, they are sure to grow to worse (in the future). It is only when all parties combine together and work for the attainment of swaraj without any selfishness whatsoever, that they will be in a position to do good to the country. Otherwise, it is but natural that disaster will overtake the country.

The Dravidan observes:-- Such confusion, due to difference of opinion, is quite common in the political field and on no account will the strength of the party of the majority of the non-Brahmans be affected hereby. Our movement, which is based upon justice and truth, will grow very much hereafter, as such differences of opinion will only strengthen and not weaken our party. The fact that our enemies make a mountain of a molehill only indicates their mentality. The Swadesamitran observes:-- If the proceedings of the non-Brahman workers' conference are not sufficient to show that there is a split in the party, let Sir P.Thyagaraya Chettiyar remind himself of the proceedings of the Madras Corporation. It has become common for the members of the 'Justice' party to attack the president of that assembly. Yet the leader of the party says that there is no split in the party.

298

We must believe him against direct evidence!

For the week ending 16th June, 1923.

26. The Saiphul Islam concludes from the details furnished by Mr. Ramanathan that the Ministerial party have only been hunting for official loaves and fishes in the name of the Non-Brahmans, thereby prejudicing the interest of society in general and remarks that if Mr.Ramanathan who has been intimate with this party for many years is disgusted with its activities, nothing more need be said about it. The Tamil Nadu writes:-- The Non-Brahmans of the Justice party have now become divided into two factions which can be called the Ministerial party and the people's party. The Ministers and their supporters are working vigorously for coming into power again. It is said that the Ministers are trying to prevent persons who have the capacity and influence to become Ministers from being returned to the council. It may be said that, after the death of Dr. T.M.Nair, the Justice party has suffered for want of a proper leader. There is no doubt that this party will be wrecked unless Brahman hatred is got rid of, a programme for the advancement of the country is prepared and a strong willed leader is chosen. No party without a definite principle or creed can last for a long time. Anyhow the existing ministry should go, as the people have in no way been benefited by its administration. The Saiphul Islam writes:-- After the death of Dr.T.M.Nair, the leaders of this movement lost sight of their ideals and began to work in other directions. As the Brahmans were employed in Government service in large numbers and had great influence, these desired to get rid of the Brahmans in service and secure the majority of the Government posts for their party men. We will not support either the Brahmans or the non-Brahmans who help the bureaucracy to carry on the administra-

The Justice party.

299

tion. As soon as this movement, inappropriately styled the non-Brahman party' and the Justice party, came under the leadership of Sir P.Thyagaraya Chettiyar, the Madras Legislative Council, the posts of Ministers and other high offices fell into the hands of this party. The badge of co-operation worn by the Brahmans was taken over by the non-Brahmans. Need we point out that every co-operator is doing great harm to the welfare of the country? When the co-operating non-Brahmans got the posts of Ministers, they began to harm our national movement in various ways. Not stopping with this, they forgot the welfare of their community and their countrymen, supported the interests of the bureaucracy and those of the capitalists who have the support of the bureaucracy cared only for their self interests and sided the Government. Their leader had his own men appointed as Ministers and began to act as he liked, flouting the opinions of others. Such improper conduct has provoked many in that party- The narrow outlook, selfishness and hatred of other communities are the causes of the ruin of this party. It may be said that it is dying daily.

For the week ending 30th June, 1923.

The non-Brahman party.

33. The Trilinga writes:-- The resolution which the non-Brahman leaders have passed with reference to the political prisoners clearly shows with what greater inimical feelings than the foreigners themselves they behaved towards the country's patriots. Are such leaders who are so anxious to punish the selfless patriots whose only ideal is to render service to the country, fit to conduct the non-Brahman movement in its real sense? Is it not the Minister for Local self-Government who has foisted with great stubbornness a municipality on the

✓ 300

head of the innocent people of Chirala by enforcing against them all the weapons in the government's armoury, even though they cried at the top of their voice that they did not want it? Is this local self-government? Again, is it not one of our three Ministers who has dared to pass the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill which even the foreign rulers have not had the hardihood to pass in the teeth of unanimous opposition from the people in all parts of the country? At a time when the nationalists are abusing Lord Curzon for putting Univeristy education partly in the hands of the Government and when the authorities of the Calcutta University are leaving no stone unturned to wave their university from entirely passing into the government's hands, the present leaders of Non-Brahman party in Madras freely supported the Bill which placed the University of Madras under the control of the Government. This is the reason why the younger members of the party are losing their respect for the leaders; We have to wait and see when such a movement as this will undergo a change so that it may prove conducive to the welfare of the people.

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

WEEKLY REPORT ON ENGLISH & VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS.

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1923.

For the week ending 7th July, 1923.

The non-Brahman movement

33. Referring to the attempts made by some non-co-operators to have a round table conference, so as to make the non-Brahmans also co-operate with the congressmen, the Dravidan remarks that the wily Brahmans, who have understood the uselessness of reviling the non-Brahman movement, have now assumed the role of well-meaning friends and says:- The non-Brahmans do not require either the help of the moderates and the new party or that of the Englishmen in India. So no intelligent non-Brahman will consent to work with the congressmen. There may be defects in the reforms. But to say that it should be wrecked completely is like setting fire to a house in order to kill a bug. So we should pay no regard to the words of the non-co-operation extremists, but see that our work is done by ourselves.

For the week ending 14th July, 1923.

The Brahmans.

28. Remarking that the Brahmans who were once held in high esteem are now suffering much misery and are being greatly reviled, the Vedic Hindu observes:-- The Brahmans are having foreign education only to enable them to earn a livelihood. The Government also have till recently helped them in this connection. But now circumstances have changed and the government are not favourable to Brahmans and have openly proclaimed their partiality by stating that Brahmans should not be appointed to any posts for a few years. Thus, impartiality, the primary principle of the

Government has been cast to the winds. Alas! Having lost their own culture, and taken to foreign education as a means of livelihood, these Brahmans now find themselves helpless between the devil and the deep sea.

Remarking that in Madras hatred for the Brahmans has reached its acme and that unless the sframble for offices is put a stop to, these petty jealousies will not come to an end, the Sampad Abhyudaya remarks: Brahman-hatred first appeared in Madras and His Excellency the Governor encouraged it. Many Brahmans have as an outcome thereof, lost their responsible posts. If the Brahmans give up government service and take to agriculture, industries and commerce, all the odium which now attaches itself to them will vanish rapidly, and both the parties will live amicably and in fraternal love as of yore.

The Non-Brahman party.

29. In the course of a long English leader regarding the Non-Brahman Workers' Conference at Madras and the Round Table Conference recently held at Coimbatore, the Mahajana Neson criticizes the policy adopted till now by the leaders of the non-Brahman party, and writes:-- "The Chief Minister has run and is still running, it appears, the gauntlet. His administration is criticized. His policy with regard to the district board presidentship is condemned as reactionary and an anachronism. It is responsible largely for the present impasse. It points clearly to the fact that there is some discontent among ~~the Tamils of his party. There is no doubt~~ non-Brahmans over the way the Ministers do things. Sir Tyagaraya Chettiyar has sowed the seeds of discontent by getting all the ministerships for Andhra friends. He is not aware that this has caused some acrimony among the Tamils of his party. There is no doubt that at the coming elections non-Brahmans will get returned in large numbers. The next ministry will, therefore, be

surely a non-Brahman ministry; but whether Sir Tyagaraya will again be able to play the enviable rule of king-maker is extremely doubtful. If he is, we have no doubt he will make a wise choice. The policy of the Chief Minister in not making the district board presidentship elective has wrought considerable mischief. If district boards are not ~~eligible~~ eligible to ~~hold such a high office as the one he holds now.~~ elect their presidents, we cannot by any stupendous stretch of our imagination find out how the Chief Minster, who is in charge of the Local Self-Government, is eligible to held such a ~~hi~~ high office as the one he holds now. The Minister knows pretty well that the president of a board is a factor to be reckoned within his district. He wants therefore to reserve to himself the right to nominate a president. In other words he wants to control the swing of the pendulum; and that consciously or unconsciously he has done in a way. We hope the new Council will place the Ministers under party control and not leave their selection to a king-maker as did the present Council?

Remarking that, in the recent meeting of some members of the Justice party held in Camera at the residence of the Raja of Panagal, no resolutions concerning the welfare of the public seem to have been passed except one renominating Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar as the leader of the party and another passing a vote of confidence in the present ministry, the Swadesamitran writes:-- It appears that mostly the adherents of Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar and the Ministers alone were invited to the meeting. If Sir Chettiyar and the Ministers really wished to know whether they enjoyed the confidence of the members of their party, a meeting of the South Indian Liberal Federation should have been convened, and after Sir Chettiyar had formally resigned his leadership there, it should have been seen whether they would re-elect him as their leader and whether they would pass a vote of confidence in the Ministers, for it is the South Indian Liberal Federation

that was started by these leaders as a public body representing the non-Brahmans and as it is in this federation that persons belonging to the various communities other than Brahmans in South India have become members. As a result of the incidents that took place in the Non-Brahman Workers' Conference h held recently, the position of the leaders of this party has become shaken and we think that this private conference was held only with a view to strengthen their position. We have written at such length only to show that these leaders have no right to say that they are the representatives of 420 lakhs of people. What have these done for the people and what do they propose to do? They have secured officials posts for themselves and their adherents by fighting for them.

For the week ending 28th July, 1923.

The Justice party.

25. The Dravidan writes:-- The non-Brahman party and the Ministers have during the last two and a half years carried out many beneficial reforms in the country. What have the Brahman politicians done so far except trying to Brahmanise the Government so as to wield unjust influence? It is only the fear that their influence will wane on account of the non-Brahman party that has made Swarajya attack our Ministers. As the Hon'ble Minister for Development has carried out many reforms in the administration which are conducive to the interests of the people, it is needless to say that envy is one of the causes that have made Swarajya blame him in particular. Remarking that, from a perusal of the programme of work recently published by the Ministerial party, it would seem that they take interest in the matter of the country attaining freedom speedily, the Swadesamitran observes:-- From this

programme it appears that one of their objects is to brirg all the departments in the Presidency under the control of the representatives of the people. This is tantamount to an admission on their part that the people are fit for provincial autonomy. Then we wish to ask them when they found out this capacity in the people. Five years ago they declared before Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford that the Indians were note fit for self-government and that the British officials alone would be the proper instruments for the advancement of the people. But now when the dections are approaching they proclaim, in consonance with public opinion, that provincial autonomy and Indianization of the sergices are two of their objects. Perhaps the members of this party who desire provincial autonomy now have made the people fit for self Government as a result of their administration of a few departments during the last two years and a half! Our readers can infer for themselves whether these ~~xxxxxx~~ leaders, who protested at that time before Mr.Montagu against the administration of India being entrusted to Indians, acared for the interests of the Indians or were the tools of the bureaucracy. Some of the representatives of the South Indian Liberal Federation, who gave evidence before the Joint Committee in connection with the Reforms, stated that secondary education and higher education should not be entrusted to Indians. Despite this evidence, secondary education and higher education have been transferred to the charge of the Indians, and the members of the very Justice party have administered the Educational Department. They have also been obstinate in passing an Act introducing certain changes in the system of education.

306

For the week ending 25th August, 1923.

2. Swarajya comments as follows:-- The Raja of Ramnad's speech at the Trichinopoly conference reflects in a mild and diluted form the main points of criticism which had found universal expression among the non-Brahmans of Tamil Nadu. No reply is attempted by him to the damaging exposure made in the press of the policy of the Ministers, and silence at a time like this can mean nothing less than a tacit acceptance of its justice. There is not a statement, not a word in the speech of the president which deals with large questions of fundamental policy. In fact, the whole basis of this new movement seems to be one of competitive selfishness. It is not on matters of principle or of programme that the ministerialists differ from the organizers of the Trichinopoly Conference. It is merely on the question as to which of them should be more selfish than the other. Unless the non-Brahman party can rise above these considerations and base their claim to power on some principles of political life which differentiate them from others it is not possible to restore normal heathly condition to the body politic of this presidency. But in this matter, both the Tamil and the Andhra sections seem to be equally devoid of every element of constructive statesmanship. The Presidential address of the Trichinopoly conference has only helped to demonstrate this more clearly than ever.

The Tamil Nadu Non-Brahman conference.

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For the week ending 1st September, 1923.

19. The Swadesamitran remarks that this conference, which was convened with a view to constitute a party on democratic lines, seeing, that the Justice

The Non-Brahman conference at Trichinopoly.

party has become the Andhra Ministers' party, trying to establish an aristocracy instead of a democracy, seems to have become a conference of the Tamil Nadu Justice party, and observes:-- It appears that the ministerialists captured the conference with a view to wreck the object of those that convened it. The party dissatisfied with the Ministerialists made all possible endeavours to see that the resolution commending the work of the Ministers was not passed in the conference. But the President exercised his authority against their wishes. They have only to blame themselves for such a result on account of their choice of the President. But if the Ministerialists had any democratic ideals, they should have availed themselves of this opportunity and come forward to determine the principles on which their party should work. From their having failed to do this, it is clear that they have not the least sympathy for democracy. The Saiphul Islam observes:-- The Justice party has been proclaiming that its chief object is to secure the advancement of the non-Brahmans. But, only a few of the higher classes among the non-Brahmans have secured high posts and begun to wield autocratic powers. In his presidential address the Raja of Ramnad has made much of the achievements of the Ministers in the Legislative Council, quoting the Hindu, Religious Endowments Bill, the State-Aid to Industries Act and the Madras University Act as instances of the same. The Endowments Bill has been supported only by the Justice party which forms only a minority and the majority of the non-Brahmans in the Presidency have strongly condemned it. This Bill, instead of adding to the prestige of the party, has only contributed to its dishonour. As regards the State-Aid to Industries Act, the Raja himself has admitted that this Act should remain a dead letter until the financial condition of the Presidency improves. Neither the Raja nor ourselves can say for certain when the finances will improves.

when industries will get State-Aid, which party will come into power and whether the policy of the Government itself will not undergo any change by that time. So, here also the Ministers have not secured any great benefit for the public. Taking the University Act, there has been much opposition even to this in the Presidency. It has been repeatedly pointed out that it will be prejudicial to the mufassal colleges, that recommendations made in respect of other Universities, such as those of the Sadler Commission, have been blindly copied without understanding the real condition of this Presidency and that it involves unnecessary expenditure. We have a great sympathy for the advancement of the non-Brahmans. But we would detest a party that ignores the public interests and supports the foreign rule from selfish motives. The President finally exhorted the audience to return only non-Brahmans to the councils in the ensuing elections. The return of non-Brahmans to the councils will only increase the hardships. So we hope that voters will, in obedience to the mandate of the Congress, boycott the elections in toto and paralyse the Government. Remarking that there are many important matters to be considered at present by the people in this country such as bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity, and getting the Kenya decision altered and that the non-Brahman conference recently held at Trichinopoly did not discuss any of them, but concentrated its whole attention on the question that some of the Madras Ministers should be chosen from among the Tamilians, the Swadesamitran observes:--It is but natural that for these great men, who consider the post of Ministers to be all important, the case of the Indians, who were born and brought up with us and were driven by poverty to seek a living in foreign countries and who suffer misery at the hands of the arrogant whites, should appear to be very trivial. Beautiful

indeed is the democratic spirit of the democratic party!

For the week ending 8th September, 1923.

The Non-Brahman conference at Trichimopoly.

33. Remarking that the fact of the non-Brahman conference recently held at Trichinopoly having ended in a fiasco despite the leader of the Justice party and the Ministers being present therein, betrays the incapacity of the leader and the Ministers and that, if they had administrative capacity and democratic spirit, they would have tried to reorganize their party on democratic lines yielding to the wishes of the younger generation of the non-Brahmans, the Samarasa Bodhini observes:-- It is but natural that any true non-Brahmans, should become enraged and disgusted to see a movement started by Dr.T.M.Nayar bereft so soon of its democratic spirit and carried on autocratically. Who will tolerate all the wrongs done by the so-called ~~xxxwakk,xdmxing~~ leaders of the Justice party to the non-Brahmans and the general public as well, during the last three years? In its English columns, the Mahajana Nesan observes:-- The stand-out feature of the conference was that it was merely a scramble for power and prestige or to put it more teresely a tug of war between the ministerialists and the anti-ministerialists as to who should rule the roost and distribute the loaves and fishes of government. No good has come out of the conference. Having regard to the achievements of the conference, we fail to see the rationale of the meeting of the non-Brahmans. One thing more than anything else they have demonstrated beyond challenge, and that is: that they can never agree in the matter of the appointment of Ministers. This has been the fountain source of all troubles. If we might hazard the vaticination, the scramble for the loaves and fishes of the Government

which at present appears to be the be-all and end-all of the non-Brahman movement, will continue to be its marked feature as years go by, unless the pay of the ministers is considerqbly reduced and they are placed under the complete control of the party in power, so that ministerships may not be coveted but rather accepted by men who feel that they have a clear call to be Ministers.

Referring to the way in which a vote of thanks to the Minsters for their good work was passed in the Non-Brahman Conference at Trichinopoly, the Swarajya Patrika remarks:- The resolution was passed after 60 delegates had left the conference. Why should such a resolution have been passed against the wishes of the delegates after a good many had left. This is exactly what we mean by the phrase 'Pressing one's own breasts.'

For the week ending 24th November, 1923.

The 'Justice' party.

27. The Andhra Patrika writes:--As the Raja of Panagal did not invite to the recent meeting at his residence all the non-Brahman members but only his followers, ignoring Dr.Natesan and Messrs. Ramalinga Reddi and Ramalinga Chetti, it is clear that only the friends of those who are now in power constitute the 'Justice' party. Those who hold more liberal views were excluded from the party. So, it is wrong to suppose that the 'Justice' party is synonymous with the non-Brahman party. Just as it has been proved from the three years' experience that the reforms are a sham, it has been made clear that there is no such separate branch as the non-Brahmans represented by the 'Justice' party. It is well that the people at least hereafter forget their social differences, give no room for Brahman-non-

Brahman disputes and unitedly exert their utmost for the advancement of the nation. The more the Brahman-non-Brahman dissensions cease to exist and friendly relations prevail between them, the nearer does the prospect of swaraj come. Such relationship is easier to atain outside the Legislative Councils than inside them. The Trilinga says:--We think that it will be well on the part of His Excellency the Governor of Madras to appoint the Ministers from among the members of all the parties in the Council, and thus put an end to party spirit. The action of His Excellency the Governor in deeming that the 'Justice' party was a political party and in inviting Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar last time to form the Ministry resulted in many evils. His Excellengy is to leave our Presidency shortly. Will he, at least now, see his mistake and help to put down communal party spirit so as to improve the political situation in our province?

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e ✓312

THE NON-BRAHMANS MOVEMENT

REPORTS ON ENGLISH & VERNACULAR PAPERS.

JANUARY TO JUNE 1924.

For the week ending 31st May, 1924.

The non-Brahman confederation.

44. Adverting to the proceedings of the South Indian Liberal Federation which recently met under the presidency of Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar, the Andhra Patrika observes:-- We need not dilate upon the fact as to how internal dissensions arose within the Justice party ...... Though the mischievous Brahman was brushed aside, unity and good-will have not come to prevail among the non-Brahmans. All movements which have as their basis motives of pure selfishness cannot but be subject to such troubles. The justice party has had no political programme and it has not indicated the ways and means by the adoption of which the ideal of swaraj could be reached. Even now, things are just in the same condition. It does not evince any interest in, or show any anxiety for, the attainment of swaraj. It never thinks of national construction at all nor has it any love for khaddar. Sri.P.Tyagaraya Chetti is singing the hymn of hate quite as usual. His only object is to boycott the Brahman. If truth has to be told, the Justice party has no broad ideas of things nor does it adopt liberal-minded methods. At a time when the whole country was full of ideas of independence, the Justice party was swimming against the current. It joined hands with the opponents of independence and justified the repressive policy of the Government. Sri P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar asked the authorities to act more rigorously towards the political prisoners. He thought that, if the non-Brahmans played second fiddle to the government, they could retain their official positions. With these ideas, they not only boycotted

the Brahmans, but even opposed the swaraj movement. Hitherto the leaders of the Justice party were proclaiming that their main object was social reform and that political matters only occupied a secondary place in their programme. But now, the speech of Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar makes it clear that it is enough if the Brahmans are removed from official positions and the non-Brahmans obtain one and all of the benefits for themselves. If together with the obstinacy to overthrow the Brahman, the non-Brahmans have, side by side with it, any the least desire to uplift the depressed classes, it will have done a lot of good to the country. What India now wants is swaraj. It cannot be Brahman swaraj or non-Brahman swaraj; Nor can it be a Hindu kingdom or a Muhummadan kingdom. That being so, it is the duty of the leaders to see that unity is brought about among the different communities. Is this the time to sing the hymn of hate once again? May the non-Brahmans not pay heed to such things at least hereafter!

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314

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT

REPORT ON ENGLIGH & VERNACULAR PAPERS.

JULY TO DECEMBER 1924.

For the week ending 23rd August.

36. In the course of a lengthy article in English under this heading, the Sampad Abhyudaya has the following:--

The Socialist and the non-Brahman in the council.

The non-Brahman movement is a big humbug. It is a movement of some interested ~~fiew~~ few. Some interested sinners have started this movement in their self-interest and they are using it for their personal aggrandizement. Its main stay is communal hatred. There is no economic basis to the movement. The great masses have nothing to gain thereby. It is very interesting to note that this movement of non-Brahmans has received recognition from the government and it is a very significant fact that in the reforms that are granted the principle of communal representation has been given undue recognition and importance. But it is clearly a dodge of the bureaucracy. The British capitalists and their agents, the bureaucracy, are here to exploit the resources of this land. Whatever impedes their scheme of exploitation is repugnant to them. They will try to counteract it, or if possible, to altogether remove it. Thus it happened that the great principle of divide and rule came to be established to create differences among those who begin to impede the exploiters. The consciousness of the bourgeois became manifest in the Congress agitation and slowly it began to organize to challenge the monopoly of the foreign exploiters. The intellectual bourgeois was the first to rise to the consciousness. It was he who was most hit by the advent of the foreigner. He was, in the old days, the master but now he is reduced to a subordinate position. He was to labour and others were to reap the fruit. This was exasperating to him. He rebelled and began to bring consciousness to the ignorant

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masses. Once more he put himself at the head of affairs and began what is known as the Nationalist movement or Swaraj movement. Government knew that the Swaraj movement was the manifestation of the discontent caused by the unfulfilled aspirations of the intellectuals. They aspired to be the masters of the society. This may could not do unless th the foreigner was ousted out. For generations and generations the intellectual bourgeois the Brahmanic sect was the exploiter of the society. He was the master. But now he was required to work for others. Instead of remaining at the head of affairs he became like the rest a cog in the scheme of the exploitation of others--the foreigner. The days of middle age were gone. Religion could no longer be the source of power. He therefore used the indigeneous capital and put himself at its head. Government saw the danger. It knew that the movement was the product of the personal aspirations of some intellectuals. It met it with the principle of divide and rule. The general outlook of the society had not yet become cosmopolitan. The masses were still ignorant and orthodox. The Government played on the weakness of the people and roused the Muhammadan intellectuals against the Hindu. For some time it used him as its tool. The Muhammadan careerists thought it the best opporunity for th their personal aggrandizement and walked over into the camp of the foreigners. The Hindu-Muslim question became a question of communal interest and a great bone of contention. Careerist sinners from both the camps were only the parties interested but they were using the rest of the masses for their selfish ends. The masses were just as they are, toilers pure and simple. Some Hindu or a Mussalman might grow to be a Collector or a Governor and draw big salaries, live in airy and well-built bungalows. But how does this better the conditions of the poor labourer? He is to toil on for the

316

the native now instead of the foreigner. But it in no way lessened his daily toiling. A native has no consolation for his starvation. But nobody was out to alleviate his suffering. His religious and communal fanaticism, a product of his utter ignorance was to be roused and kindled for the personal aggrandizement of either a Hindu or Mussalman careerist. When the Swaraj movement was thuse only the movement of the interested careerist it was no wonder that the policy of divide and rule worked well for some time, but the suffering of the masses grew and it brought on the final disillusion. They saw that by helping some of their men to offices, they only helped their individual betterment but it no way altered the economic conditions of the society. The masses stand to-day where they were. What government tried with the Muhammadans it is now trying with the non-Brahmans; some individual carrerists of the non-Brahman class have come to cherish high aspirations for individual aggrandizement. They want to be the ministers, executive officers, collectors, sub-judges etc. The Brahman intellectual was a powerful competitor in the field; by his traditional merits he went ahead. This was a great obstacle in the way of the non-Brahman careerist; therefore he kindled the ract hatred and wanted to create a hot atmosphere for the Brahmans. He wants to use the mass fanaticism for his personal betterment. He wants to be successful in his career. But what is it that he means? He is going to be just a cog in the government scheme of exploitation as the Brahmans themselves are, but how does it better the conditions of the masses. How does it stop its exploitation? The Brahman intellectual bourgeois. But a bourgeois is just the same. It makes no difference whether he is a Brahman or a non-Brahman or even a British or a Muhammadan. He is not a friend of the masses? He is their exploiter; but the ignorant non-Brahman masses do not realize this. They do not see that

their so-called leaders are only careerists. Government knows this and it is winnigg them over by the show of favours. That is the nature of the non-Brahman in the Council. All of them are individual careerists. They have roused a spirit of communal hatred. They roll on to success on the top of this wave. But what is the economic salvation that the suffering masses get? How is the poverty of the agriculturist to be removed? How is the factory worker to get adequate wages and necessary rest? Has the non-Brahman got any programme for it? No. He has not. That is none of his outlook. They do not care if the masses groan under their misery. They do not care even if they are victims to the drink evil. These individuals must be in the Government good books. They must get chances on the committees and boards. If this is assured he does not care even if drink evil remains for ten years or more. The masses must realise this truth. They must disillusion themselves that the non-Brahman movement is a movement for the emancipation of the exploited. It is not a movement to end the exploitation of the masses but it is the movement started by some interested few to get into the positions of exploiters. It is a movement for careerists. As a matter of fact there cannot ne such divisions as Brahmans or non-Brahmans. They are only two classes. They represent the vested and non vested interests. There are the exploiters and the exploited. The present non-Brahman movement is a humbug because it does not aim at abolishing vested interests. It aims at creating them. It is a product of the rivalry of the careerists of two different sects. The Brahman hierarchy exploited the religionism of the masses for ages past. They they exploited them as their intellectual leaders, and agents of the foreigners. In their place to-day grows a non-Brahman hierarchy and intellectual bourgeois. Both are the enemies of the exploited masses.

The Masses must organise themselves and bring about their economic emancipation. Serfs will grow into ministers, draw big salaries and administer Government systems of exploitation; but they cannot fight the battles of the masses against the capitalists. They aspire to be capitalists themselves. They are remnants of the old aristocracy and it is natural that they should aspire to be so to futurity. But we do not want in these days any aristocrats and bureaucrats. We want the friends and well-wishers of the proletariat.

For the week ending 11th October, 1924.

7. Writing under this heading, justice states:--The talk of national unity is very much in the air now. Mrs. Besant started it recently on her return from England, and it has since been on the lip of every one who counts for anything in our public life. The great political somersaultist that she is, Mrs.Besant even went to the extent of swearing by the charka, which she intensely abominated but a while ago, in order to gratify her new-born craving for a united front. She, moreover, pompously announced her philosphic intention not to hit back in turn if she is hit by any political worker in the cause of her adopted motherland. All this led to a huge sensation in the political atmosphere, and the result has been the creation of a general tendency on the part of several well-intentioned people to talk volubly of unity without even understanding what exactly was meant by that term. We are sorry that some of our non-Brahman friends as well have fallen a victim to this sort of cheap word-jugglery about national unity. Eventually, however, they will the,selves realize the folly they commit under the unsuspected tyranny of catchwords,

Non-Brahmans, beware!

and whand that realization dawns, there is sure to be reversion and retracing to sanity. Our movement as every non-Brahman knows, was started with certain definite aims and objects; till these aims and objects have been attaindd in full, how can we, as true followers of the movement, take our hands off the plough and cry halt to the work we have been and are doing. We can only join hands with those who agree with us in our views and sentiments, and so long as such agreement does not obtain, it will be mere foolishness to think that co-operation is possible and, even if possible, will last for long. We warn our non-Brahman friends, therefore not to be led astray by the meretricious eloquence of congress loving enthusiasts, and commit the grotesque folly of drifting fro from the only organization which has worked disinterestedly for them and their community during the past seven years and more. We shall certainly co-operate with all political organizations on all such questions as we are unanimously agreed on, but such co-operation need not be, and should not be, preconditioned by an one-sided abject surrender of one's cherished principles and ideals".

For the week ending 18th October, 1924.

3. Swarajya writes:-- Under the pompous name of 'the Non-Brahman Confederation' the battered forces of the Ministerialists meet to-day in their annual conference. It is their last endeavour to save themselves from extinction.

The Non-Brahman Confederation

The record of the Ministry is so black in every respect that no amount of special pleading will save them from their utter discredit in the Presidency. The hopelessness of their cause is fully reflected in the two addresses which are to be

delivered this evening.... It is now for the confederation to make its choice. There is an open invitation from Mahatma Gandhi to all parties to join the Congress and work for a common Swaraj programme. If the Non-Brahman Confederation has any claims to press, the proper place for it is the congress platform. But if it is Government jobs under a foreign bureaucracy that it wants, certainly it is out of place in the Congress."

20. The Andhra Patrika (11th) writes:-- To-day, the Seventh Non-Brahman Conference has met at the Victoria Public Hall under the presidentship of Divan Bahadur M.Krishnan Nayar. Sir K.V.Reddi, the late Minister of Madras, ought to have occupied the President's chair.. But, on account of some reason or other it was published that the latter was not going to take the chair. The opinion that the 'Justice party' is identical with the Non-Brahman party is day by day becoming false. The 'Justice party' has now become a mere group of a minor section of the non-Brahmans, for, it is turning out of its fold all the members for whom it has no liking. It has no spirit of tolerance about it whatsoever. Possessing no lofty ideals or any commendable programme of work, the 'Justice party' is directing its attention to the obtaining of purely individual gain. The President, Mr.Krishnan Nayar, sang his usual song. He praised the work turned out by the non-Brahman Ministers, and the three legislative measures for the passing of which they were responsible. But, the Ministers themselves are now admitting that they have not been able to do anything. Every one knows that these three Acts have not been beneficial to the people to any the least extent. Mr. Ratnaswami, the President of the Reception committee, looks like a petrified Justice party man. He still argues that he is opposed to the speedy attainment of swaraj and he also

The Non-Brahman Conference.

counsels the 'Justice party' not to abandon or change the ideals which it has set before it at the very beginning,. If the 'Justice party' should take his advice, it will never ask for swaraj in the near future. Such being the case, there is no wonder if many of the non-Brahman leaders had left that body. There is yet scope for many more persons to leave it. There is no good of the existence of a party which neither likes to join the congress nor aims at the speedy attainment of swaraj. If the abovementioned conditions are considered requisite for a membership in the 'Justice party' the non-Brahmans will do well to cease all their connection with it. May they brush aside the advice of Messrs. Krishnan Nayar and Ratnaswami and may they try hereafter at least for the early attainment of swaraj! May they follow such non-Brahman leaders as Gandhi Das, Lajpat Rai, Petel and others! ~~Although no resolution was passed in regard to the congress, the non-Brahman conference have taught a lesson to the~~ The Andhra Patrika (14th) observes:-

A sub-committee has been formed to bring about unity among all the non-Brahmans. But, the names of the members constituting it do not inspire faith. We cannot believe that Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar, who is against joining the congress, and Professor Ratnaswami who says that he does not want swaraj can bring about union. While the whole country is very anxious about swaraj and has recognized the Congress as an authoritative body, it is improper that the (Justice party) alone should be indifferent. It is traitorous to say that the non-Brahmans do not want immediate swaraj and will not have anything to do with the Congress. It is wrong to say that the Madras non-Brahmans should boycott the Congress which is led by such non-Brahman leaders as Gandhi, Das, Lajpat Rai, and Patel. Although no resolution was passed in regard to the congress, the non-Brahman Conference have taught a lesson to the chairman of the Reception

Committee by passing a resolution about the urgent need for the immediate attainment of swaraj.

The Swadesamitran observes:-- It is highly surprising that the chairman of the reception committee and the president of the conference should have warned the non-Brahmans not to join the congress, even after the very magnanimous appeal of the Mahatma. There is, therefore nothing surprising in such a mentality having disgusted even persons like Sir K.V.Reddi Nayudu. Mr.Krishnan Nayar argues tha that the non-Brahman movement was started only in the intersts o of the country. But his justification of the conduct of his party in being solely intent on hunting for office, is curious. While explaining the programme of his party he states that the attainment of full provincial autonomy is their main ideal. But the chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Ratnaswami, expresses himself strongly against this ideal. He appears to belong to the party which would be content with some offices and leave India under the control of foreigners for ever. Mr. Ratnaswami's remark shows that, though this party has gradually worn thin and sunk into oblivion, it is not yet dead. While detailing the ideals of the non-Brahmans, the President has mentioned the question of permanent settlement. What have this party accomplished with regard to permanent settlement, despite their having been in a majority in the Legislative Council for four years? The matter stops with the single resolution that was passed about it. What have they done to press the Government in this matter through the members of the Legislative Council or through the Ministers, who belong to their party, or through their conferences? Is the defeat of the resolution urging the postponement of resettlement in Tanjore, the help whoch the non-Brahmans have rendered with regard to permanent settlement? It is one of the objects of non-Brahman movement to define the rights of

mirasidars over natural streams rivers and other water-courses. Though an opportunity offered itself to define the rights of the Government and the mirasidars in this matter through the Irrigation Bill, which is now before the Legislative Council, the Select Committee have failed to avail itself of it. It is said that the Ministers support this Bill. If the non-Brahmans in the Legislative Council follow suit and the Bill is passed into law, they will be deemed to have acted contrary to the objects of their party. The development of forests and the advancement of elementary education are also said to be the objects of their party. Beyond the appointment of a number of committees and the incurring of enormous expenditure by way of travelling allowance, what have they done with regard to these objects? Excise reform is also one of their objects. The Excise Department is under the control of a Minister, who belongs to their party. What reforms have they prevailed upon the Minister to introduce? The amelioration of the depressed classes is also one of their objects. A great portion of this work is being done by Congressmen. Which institution that does the same work is connected with the non-Brahman movement? While the safeguarding of the rights of the people is one of their objects, those rights have been negatived by the application of repressive laws. The non-Brahman members of the Legislative Council and the officials have been either supporting it or acquiescing in it. All the above-mentioned objects are found only on paper and the non-Brahman movement has not done anything in practice to carry them out. Though Mr.Krishnan Nayar has tried to support his party, he is not willing to deny the truths that have become patent through the efforts of others. His admission that it is impossible to mend diarchy and that it is necessary to end it, is noteworthy. If the leaders of the non-Brahman movement think that diarchy is useless, the best course for

324

them will be to urge the members of their party to refuse to have any connection with this diarchy and to try to get rid of it. If diarchy should go, can they occupy the posts which have come into existence on account of diarchy? Mr.Nayar has stated that the Government should convene a Round Table Conference, in which all the parties will be represented, and determine the Indian constitution. But he is not prepared to go beyond this. Mr. Nayar knows that the Government have rafused to do this. Though he ought to have suggested some course by which the Government may be compelled to accede to this demand, he has not done any such thing. In this connection, our readers should consider one point. The swarajists and others are of opinion that diarchy should go. ~~Butxthey~~ Hence, they are working to get rid of it. The 'Jusfice party' also are of opinion that diarchy should go. But they are taking part in it and thereby helping its continuance. The swarajists and the nationalists are striving to compel the Government to convene a Round Table Conference and determine the constitution of India. The 'Justice party' say that they will pray!

For the week ending 25th October, 1924.

The non-Brahman conference.

28. Commenting upon the proceedings of the non-Brahman conference, the Trilinga remarks The President, Diwan Bahadur ~~Krix~~ Krishnan Nayar, Professor M.Ratnaswami and their followers said that, although diarchy was beneficial to this province in some respects, it was on the whole unsuccessful. But thes e gentlemen ought to join the swaraj movement, enter the Congress and steer their boat along the national current and not against it. This current of the national movement is gaining its strength day by day. Some among

the Non-Brahmans themselves have noted this and are joining the congress. There is no use of only a few running counter to it.

The swadesamitran observes:-- Though a resolution was passed at this conference demanding provincial autonomy and a certain amount of responsibility in the Central Government Mr.A.Ramaswami Mudaliyar who supported it, regretted that communal electorates had not yet been formed. If communal representation in representative assemblies and in the matter of government appointments is to become a permanent system instead of a temporary measure to suit existing conditions, it will be incompatible with national unity and the growth of a democratic system of administration. We are however of opinion that our non-Brahman brethren, who form 90 per cent of the population, should attain a position befitting their number and status in representative assemblies and government appointments, without affecting the interests of the public. But if Mr.A.Ramaswami Mudaliyar's suggestion is carried out, a spirit of union can never prevail among the people of this country. Further, the results of the last two elections show that special arrangements for communal representation are not necessary as non-Brahmans came out victorious in various constituencies on their own merits. The conference devoted great attention only to the matter of getting a greater share of the appointments. While moving the resolution on this subject, Mr.Tanikachala Chettiyar urged that the Staff Selection Board should be abolished. This Board has been constituted for selecting candidates for various appointments in an impartial manner in accordance with the definite policy of the government and considerations of efficiency without caring for recommendations or being guided by political or communal bias. It may be a legitimate demand to ask that this Board should make appointments by recognizing the special claims of the non-

Brahmans. But to argue that, instead of this, the Board itself should be abolished is like asking that the power of appointment with regard to various departments should be vested in the hands of the leaders of their party. If so, it will show that the non-Brahmans are more anxious to secure special facilities through their leaders in regard to appointments, promotions and other matters than to see that duties attaching to the several appointments are properly carried out. The attainment of ideals like this cannot help the advancement of the non-Brahmans. It only looks as if the non-Brahman leaders gathered to discuss in the name of the non-Brahmans in general about the posts and offices sought by them and they do not seem to have evinced any intereste in the advancement of the community as a whole.

For the week ending 1st November, 1924.

30.The Swarajya Patrika writes:-- It has become a custom with a few non-Brahmans to meet together under the name of the Non-Brahman conference, and say that they are the representatives of four crores of people. Mr. M.Ratnaswami, the Chairman of the Reception Committee ventured to say that India did not require immediate swaraj. How many non-Brahmans in the Madras Presidency share in his opinion now? While all the non-Brahmans in the Madras Presidency share in his opinion now? How many non-Brahmans have joined the congress and are demanding immediate swaraj, he is so audacious as to rally some friends of the government and say that swaraj is not required for India. It is an illusion on his part to suppose that the people in the Presidency will acquiesee in his opinion.

The non-Brahman conference.

The Tamil Nadu observes:-- Though the non-Brahman movement was started with many good objects by the late Dr.Nayar, it is not surprising that only 150 persons attended this conference, since it is now dominated by a group of persons who support the government. This movement was first started only with the object of getting rid of the backward condition of the non-Brahmans in various fields and making them advance. But eventually, the leaders of the non-Brahman party and their adherents became satisfied with getting appointments. They have done nothing to impart education to the people, to get rid of their poverty and to prohibit the use of liquors. They have been the staunch supporters of the government. The Miniters have not accomplished anything, except touring in special saloons like puppets. Mr.Ratnaswami has condemned the action of the Ministers in pleading want of funds for anything and everything. He has stated that, by a judicious regulation of expenditure and by effecting retrenchment with foresight, various benefits necessary to the people may be conferred on them and that there will be no necessity for pleading want of funds. We do not know whether this will appeal to the Ministers. It is necessary that a democratic system of administration should be established in India soon. If the non-Brahman leaders are really interested in the advancement of their community, they should, in addition to striving for the same, try to attain swaraj quickly. If, instead of doing so, some persons work with the idea of securing high titles and position for themselves, it is tantamount to cheating the non-Brahmans.

The 'Justice party'.

31. The Congress writes:-- The Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal, Sir, K.V.Reddi Nayudu and the Hon'ble Sir.A.P.Patro did no good at all to the people during their tenure of office as

Ministers. The want of statesmanship, the attitude of intolerance and the unwisdom which these Ministers exhibited in regard to the question of the introdution of the spinning-wheel in the educational institutions under the control of the local bodies will be remembered eternally. No one who has any humanity in him, can appreciate the conduct of the Hon'ble Sir A.P.Patro in regard to the propaganda for the prohibition of drink. This Minister who opposed this healthy movement, is the leader of the Justice party. The Ministers and the Justice party joined the Government and obstructed the progress of the national movement. They conferred appointments on their followers and friends but failed to do any the least good either to the non-Brahmans or to the country.

<u>For the week ending 8th November, 1924.</u>

33. The Arya Vaisya says:-- What are these leaders doing? They are meeting to express our unfitness for swaraj. They are ascending the platforms, murmuring to themselves in faltering accents about the Mahatma. They are crying hoarse that their party should be head and shoulders above all other parties. They are against entering the Congress. These ideas are not only opposed to us but are even opposed to nature. When Dr. Besant agreed to the union of all parties in spite of differences of opinion and is trying to rejoin the congress to promote unity and the speedy attainment of swaraj by India, these few gentlemen, who call themselves our leaders, have not only stuck themselves neck-deep in mire but are also inviting all on-lookers with extreme kindness. We will have to pray to benignant angels

The Non-Brahman conference.

that we may be saved from the clutches of this extra-ordinary kindness!

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR &PAPERS.

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1925.

For the week ending 17th January, 1925.

24. Adverting to the proceedings of this conference recently held at Belgaum, the Tamil Nadu observes:-- A conference of non-Brahmans is of course essential for redressing their grievances. But we should not allow some persons to gain their selfish ends by sailing under the colours of the non-Brahmans. The non-Brahmans desire the speedy liberation of the country as much as they desire to advance their community. They do not wish to betray their country in their love for a few petty posts. Hence they should not fall into the hands of those who are hunting for appointments. It is funny that a small party, which supports the Government and is carrying on a propaganda with a selfish object in view, should profess to be the representatives of all the non-Brahmans in India. If they really desire to strive for the cause of the non-Brahmans and if their conference is an All-India one, the non-Brahmans belonging to all parties should have the right to join it. There is no use in vain pretention. While refuting the charge levelled against this conference, that it was the gathering of a few, the Dravidan observes:-- This charge may be brought against any gathering; for example, though the Indian National congress is a large gathering, it does not voice the views of all the Indians, inasmuch as there are several parties like the non-Brahmans who stand aloof and do not take part in it. So, despite the congress being called the Indian National congress, it is only a gathering of one party. Similarly we do not claim our conference to be one of all the non-Brahmans born and brought up in India. But we would assert

The non-Brahman conference.

that it is a gethering of all non-Brahmans who demand communal representation and swaraj within the British Empire.

Referring to Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar's presidential address the Satyagrahi remarks:-- The address was a fairly long one and gave adequate expression to the growing aspirations of the Indians. Utter futility of the diarchical system of Government, principle of reciprocity in respect of the Indians abroad, Indianization of the services, provincial autonomy, condemnation of repression in Bengal, a desire for unity-all these were dwelt upon. But the undue praise bestowed on the Madras Ministry, the strong approval expressed for the Endowment Bill and protest at the Viceroy's delay in assenting to the enactment only go to prove the exclusive nature of the movement. Hatred towards the Brahmanas or any other communities can never do good to the non-Brahmans. Contempt for the attempts made by the Congress towards the achievement of unity and unjust allegations against the swaraj party only betray the President's weakness of mind. Though the heroic words given expression to by the President in praise of the non-Brahmans might have brought honour to him undermore suitable circumstances, now, at this time, when the whole of India is in the throes of a struggle, these very words are sure to prove the cause of India's ruin. Should the heroic words of the non-Brahmans bear fruit to the fullest extent, the pace of degradation of our Motherland will become accelerated and a time will surely come when the non-Brahmans too will have to join others in shedding tears of sorrow. But let us hope that this state of affairs will soon disappear and that India will, with the efforts of the other unselfish parties and the co-operation of the sensible non Brahmans soon obtain swaraj.

332

38. Adverting to the speeches made by certain leaders recently at a meeting held in Madras under the auspices of the Congress Sabha, the Mahajana Sabha and the Swarajya party, the Dravidan observes:-- It will be patent to those who read the puranas of our country that the Brahmans have been duping this world and eking out their livelihood by means of lies and that they betray their real nature in their various avocations. These speeches will clearly show how the Brahmans are duping the non-Brahmans under the cloak of the Swarajya party and the Congress. Now, in order to dupe and allure the non-Brahmans, they say that they are prepared to stand aloof even if it is proposed that they should get nothing whatever. We have not yet forgotten the serious injustice of the contention of these Brahmans before Lord Willingdon in 1920 that they could not allow more than 30 seats in the Legislative Council to the non-Brahmans though the latter formed a vast majority of the population of this Presidency. Such wicked Brahmans say that they are prepared to give up everything for us in 1925.

The Brahmans and the non-Brahmans.

For the week ending 4th April, 1925.

39. The Tamil Nadu publishes a long leader condemning the management of the Gurukula now working at Sermadevi, in which the following observations find place among others:-- Mr.V.V.S.Ayyar, the manager of the Gurukula, wished to make the Tamils eternal slaves and raise the status of the Brahmans by establishing the Gurukula at Sermadevi. But the will of Providence was different from that of Mr.Ayyar. The meeting on Tuesday last with Mr.Ayyar

The Brahman-non-Brahman problem.

and others in the presence of the Mahatma has demonstrated that, just as it is impossible for us to prevent our being disgraced by the whites, till we attain swaraj it is impossible to prevent our being disgraced by the Brahmans till unity is attained among the Tamils. The Brahmans will be disappointed if, on account of their arrogance that the Government and the press are in their hands, they should think that they can crush the legitimate cause of the Tamils. If.Mr.Ayyar does not return, before the end of April, the sum of Rs.5,000, which was granted by the Tamil Nadu congress Committee and the other sums which the Tamils want to be refunded, a satyagraha will be started in the month of May for taking possession of the property of the Gurukula. The contention of the Brahmans is like that of the Government referring to the Montagu reforms as having conferred self-government on us. Just an means have been devised in the reforms to prevent the old autogratic powers being reduced even a whit, the object of the Brahmans is to make a pretence of fulfilling the wishes of the Tamils and yieldings to them but to carry on their work without in any way deviating from their old activities. So long as they entertain this evil idea, the attainment of unity is but a day-dream. If the money is not refunded as desired by the Tamils, we fear that untoward consequences will ensue. A propaganda will be carried on throughout the country, on account of which communal quarrels will be fostered unnecessarily. O Tamils! Unite at least now when danger and disgrace threaten to engulf us. We have to offer resistance on both sides. On one side the bureaucracy is enslaving us. On the other side, the Brahmans are disgracing us. The Tamils have to resist both these at present.

For the week ending 2nd May, 1925.

44. The Congress writes:-- If we consider impartially, it cannot but be said that the Brahmans were chiefly responsible for the firm establishment of the foreign government in India. The Brahmans who occupied the position of religious preceptors abandened their legitimate duties and, instead of preaching righteousness to the people, took to service under foreign rulers, actuated by a desire for power and helped on the administration of the country. The people of other castes also thought that the course followed by their preceptors, the Brahmans, was the right one. By placing the lowest ideal of service under foreign rulers before the people instead of the highest ideal of righteous conduct, the Brahmans threw the country into the lowest depths of degradation. The Justice party started a campaign against the Brahmans and, instead of preaching to them their duty, themselves made service under foreign rulers their object and are adding further strength to the foreign government. In this lies the weakness of the Justice party. They conduct themselves as if influenced by the idea that, when the Brahmans have acted treacherously towards the country on account of a desire for appointments, why they too should not secure them and act still more treacherously. The Justice party have set up a competition between the Brahmans and the Non-Brahmans, in treachery towards the country.

The Brahman and the non-Brahman question.

For the week ending 30th May,

4. Justice has the following: Neither in the welcome adress of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, nor in the presidential

South Indian Railway and non-Brahmans.

335

address of Mr.A.Rangaswami Ayyanger, delivered at the third session of the South Indian Railway Employees' Conference held at Trichinopoly on Satudday last, do we find the slighest mention of one of the greatest anomalies associated with the administration of the Railway in question. The anomaly we refer to is, 66 course, the one connected with the quwstion of recruitment to the services of company. It is notorious that in almost all branches of administration the Brahmans are the predominant element, and the Company has seldom evinced any interest in the matter of distributing the loaves and fishes of office at its disposal in a fair and equitable manner. We have on several occasions drwwan prominent attention to this regrettable state of affairs, but we must painfully confess that no perceptible change for the better, in the policy and mentality of the authoritjes responsiblle for it, has yet come about. On the contrary, the Brahmans are still the first favourites with the company whenever appointments and promotions have to be made, the non-Brahman aspirant for service and the non-Brahmans axaxxtikk thaxfixxtxf employee alike being looked upon as hardly deserving of any favour and encouragement. Even when retrenchment in staff has to be effected it is invariably on non-Brahman necks that the axe falls, even the humblest of of the humble Brahman employee having a god-father or two to look after his interest in the higher grades of the Company's service. It cannot, of course, be pretended that either the non-Brahman employees or the non-Brahman public have failed to acquaint the authorities of the company of this invidious state of affairs. To our own knowledge, several representations on this subject have time and again been addressed to the Managing Agent and others, although the Practical effect of all agitation has been a mere flow of empty words. It is perhaps not to be surprised at that this

question of adequate representation to non-Brahman communities in the services of the company has not been referred to by either the chairman of the Reception Committee or the President of the Conference. Both these gentlemen are Brahmans, and naturally it would be expecting too much of them to put in a word on behalf of people who cannot claim kinship with them and their community. That seems poor reason, however, why the conference as a whole should not have discussed the issue and made strong representations on it. After all, it is the non-Brahmans in the mass and the revenues derived from them that keep the Company going, and we do not think that any sane person could take objection if the proposition is put forward that a fair percentage of the appointments under the Company's control should be given to qualified members of non-Brahman communities."

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c 337

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR PAPERS.

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1925.

For the week ending 11th July.

3. Justice states:-- "From a notice appearing in Justice during the last two days it would have been noticed that a meeting of our party is to come off on Sunday. The primary object of the meeting is to consider and concert measures for safeguarding the future of our party. It is hardly necessary to say that, as matters stand at present, there is considerable room for improvement in the machinery we have devised for attaining our aims and ideals. For the moment we shall confine ourselves to one or two points in this connection. All of us are aware that there is a vigorous campaign afoot now with a view if possible, to destroy our movement and relegate once again the non-Brahmans of this province into political helplessness. Our enemies are actively at work in this direction, and, backed up as they are by a powerful section of the indigenous press, they are very hopeful, indeed, of scoring the triumph they so eagerly covet. To them no weapon is too unclean, and no method too foul, to be used against us, and they know it well that the mass-mind is such that it will regard as absolutely true even the most damnable lie if only it could be repeated a number of times. And true to this faith, they are now going about uttering innumerable slanders against us and our leaders. Even in a city like ours, where the light of publicity cannot be altogether shut out from their insidious activities and mischievous misrepresentations, they are, we know, misbehaving themselves in a most unscrupulous fashion; when such is the case in the city itself, it is not at all difficult to imagine what immense scope for mischief they have in mufassal areas, especially in the country-

'Justice party'

side where they have been for decades, and still continue to be, the unquestioned moulders of opinion. The only way, therefore, in which we can counteract the injury they do to us and our cause is by organizing propaganda work, which, while exposing their tactics, would enlist recruits, in ever-increasing numbers to rally round our flag."

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~~For the week ending~~

42. Referring to the objection raised in Mysore by the Brahman pandits to instruction being imparted in the Vedas to non-Brahman students, the Tamil Nadu writes:-- There are two ways of enslaving the people and robbing them. One is to enslave innocent people by the strength of arms and rob them of their belongings. The other is to enslave them by making them place faith in several books written with a fraudulent motive and then rob them. Bold persons will adopt the first method, while cowards will have recourse to the second. It was by resorting to the latter method that the purohits enslaved crores of Hindus in the land of Bharata. They have committed the sin of the demoniac creed of untouchability getting ingrained into the blood of the Hindus. The Gurukula controversy which started in the Tamil land has spread even in Mysore. The Brahmans have for a long time being resorting to the fraudulent tactics of preventing non Brahmans from learning the Sanskrit language and the Vedas.

Brahminism.

<u>For the week ending 1st August, 1925.</u>

33. The Al-Ameen writes:-- 'The Non-Brahman party of Madras has elected the Chief Minister, the Raja of Panagal, as their leader in the place of the late Sir P.Thyagaraya Chettiyar.' Evil only and nothing good has come out of this Non-Brahman party to Brahmans and non-Brahmans, Muslims and non-Muslims in Malabar. In the matter of political progress they are great obstructionists. If the opinion of the leader of this party is that political prisoners may be treated like prisoners convicted for murder, etc., nothing need be said about other matters. It seems the idea is to raise a public memorial to Sir P.Thyagaraya Chettiyar. It is not known who are all included in this public.

The non-Brahman party.

For the week ending 22nd August, 1925.

21. Referring to the suggestion that the Justice party also, should have a standard like the Swaraj party, the Azad Hind thinks that, in view of the fact that the former has seen the impression created on the public mind by the Swarajist flag, its desire to have one for itself is not surprising. It asserts that the Swarajist flag is an emblem of the liberty of the country, defence of the poor and the helpness and an aversion to titles and asks whether the flag of the Justice party would represent slavery to Government, a longing for titles and offices and selfishness and adds that if the flag have that significance, it would only lower the party in the estimation of the public and betray its defects.

The Justice party.

For the week ending 29th August, 1925.

32. The Al-Ameen writes:-- The Justice party in Madras has become quite rickety. It is quite recently that they started propaganda work in Malabar. Here, nobody wishes to join their party. What good has the Justice party done to the Malayalis till now? They have made it clear that they stand in the way of the liberty of the people and their desire for progress. If they are supporting the lawlessness that is going on in Madras, it is certain that they will not in future have any one to support them.

The Justice party.

For the week ending 5th September, 1925.

20. Commenting on the presidential address of Mr.C. Tanikachala Chettiyar at a Non-Brahman Conference recently held at Tanjore, the Swadesamitran (22nd) observes:-- Mr.Chettiyar himself has mentioned certain facts to show that the present Ministers, having lost their self-respect, are clinging to their offices. He says that his party supported the Government at a time when violence, disorder and disobedience of the law were the order of the day. That is to say, the Justice party were privy to section 144 and other sections being misused to repress the persons concerned in the picketing of toddy shops, etc., in the days when the non-co-operation movement was at its height. Besides this, he has also stated that they were helpful to the enactment of certain laws so as to increase the powers of the Government for the preservation of peace. Let the non-Brahmans of the Presidency consider for themselves whether, for these acts, they should detest

The Tanjore Non-Brahman Conferences.

the Ministerial party, or raise monuments for them. The Ministerial party get angry if others say that they are foremost in job hunting. What is the explanation for the appointment of Mr.Sivagnanam Pillai, who is regarded by Mr.Tanikachala Chettiyar ~~complains that the Ministers~~ and several others as unfit to hold the position of a Minister? Mr.Chettiyar complains that the Ministers are prevented from doing anything of their own accord and that no one cares for the inconvenience caused by the intervention of the Finance Department in the work of the departments under the Ministers. It is true that there are such inconveniences. That is why the congress kept aloof, saying that Indians should not have anything to do with this sham swaraj. Mr.Chettiyar also complains that the Governor appointed some officers to the department under the control of the Ministers, against their advice. Did the Ministers, who were treated like that, resign their offices as self-respecting persons? Mr. Tanikachala Chettiyar thinks that the Governor interfered with their liberty. We may take it that the Ministers also thought like that. Why did they not resign as a protest against the action of the Governor? In that part of his address where he has discussed the impropriety of the leader of the party being a Minister, Mr.Chettiyar says that the Ministers do not command the same respect as the members of the Executive Council and that the Governor is not bound to act in accordance with the advice of the Members of the Executive Council. Why do the Justice party support this kind of diarchy? One cannot have the cake and eat it too. If they want both the office and the power belonging to it, they should not be Ministers under diarchy but should join the Swarajya party and come forward to agitate. Commenting upon the proceedings of the two Non-Brahman Conferences recently held at Tanjore, the Swadesamitran observes:-- Mr.Pannirselvam

says that the Justice party seek official posts not for the petty salary carried by them but forthe power resulting from those appointments. Let us assume that they secure the posts and the powers resulting therefrom. What ground is there to believe that they will utilize this power to promote the welfare of the poor non-Brahmans? In view of the present experience, there is ground to think that they will not do so. Mr.Tanikachala Chettiyar has stated in his speech that a person can hold the post of a Minister only for three years that very capable persons can hold it only for five years and that the period of office should be so fixed as to give opportunities even for young men. This is a novel principle. The leaders of a party hold office as long as they continue to enjoy the confidence of that party. If.Mr.Chettiyar's suggestion is given effect to it will be possible to satisfy the ambition of several prominent members of the party, but it does not appear that any good will result from it to the non-Brahman community as a whole. What claim have the Justice party on the support of the non-Brahmans? The preceedings of the Nationalist Non-Brahman Conference held at Tanjore will, on the other hand, afford consolation to the non-Brahmans. The people of the Tanjore district know why the Government reduced the enhanced assessment from 25 to 18¾ per cent. Yet Mr.Pannirselvam says that the ~~grant~~ grant of this concession was due to the kindness of the Ministers. Perhaps he deemed the people of the Tanjore district to be idiots when he ventured to say that a benefit, which resulted on account of the non-tax campaign, was due to the kindness of the Ministers.

<u>For the week ending 19th September, 1925.</u>

15. The Vasumathi condemns the Religious Endowments Act,

the Andhra University scheme and the proposal to establish a Hindu University at Tirupati as measures adopted by the non-Brahman party to remove dissensions among its members and to create lucrative posts for them and says:-- The non-Brahman party continues to exist by giving bribes in the shape of appointments, by enacting laws for its own selfish ends and by hypnotising the people by their war cry of Brahman hatred. A party which has for its motto hatred and contumely will not last long.

Non-Brahman party.

For the week ending 26th September, 1925.

34. Adverting to the observation reported to have been made by a member of the Justice party, at a meeting recently held in Madras, that one of the important achievements of the party was the securing of official posts to several non-Brahman youths, the Swadesamitran observes:-- The leaders of the Justice party are trying to gather support for themselves by rendering this service as far as possible. A correspondent has written to the Madras Mail that the Government have now decided to create a new set of official posts. If this is true, the Ministers have resolved to strengthen their party by adopting an untoward course. It is reported that the Government are going to appoint officers on a salary of Rs.150 to Rs.400 to municipalities for exercising the powers regarding the levy of taxes. In view of the fact that the powers excercised through the Minister, the statement that the Government have decided to creat new posts, means that the Ministers have decided to do so. The Government appoint the Chief Executive Officer of the

~~party, at a meeting recently the~~

The Justice party.

Madras municipality. The municipal council has no power whatever in the matter of his appointment. Nor are his powers derived from the Council. We have already appointed out the anomalous nature of this arrangement. But it appears that the Ministers have resolved to create this anomalous situation even in the mufassal municipalities. The Ministry may argue that, since municipal councillors depend upon the favours of the people, they act with partiality in the matter of levying taxes and that this power should therefore be taken away from them and vested in a separate officer. We admit that the right of levying taxes should be vested in an official who is not bound by any considerations. But he ought not to be placed beyond the control of the municipal council. The right of levying taxes and that of spending the same are the important rights of the council and if a government official should exercise one of these rights from within the municipality, the municipal council will be deprived of its rights. When there is a need for increasing the freedom of the municipalities, it would be a retrograde policy to attempt to curtail even their present freedom. In order to give effect to the decision which the Ministers are reported to have come to, the District Municipalities Act has to be amended. The Ministers may believe that it would be easy to amend the Act as desired by them, since the Justice party command some influence in the Madras Legislative Council. But will the members of the Legislative Council be a party to cripple the municipalities? We think that the news found in the Madras Mail has only been published to sound public opinion in the matter. If the Government publish their proposal officially, the opinion of the public will be expressed in clear terms. Though the proposed amendment may deprove the municipalities of their independence, it will creat facilities for the Ministers to tive official posts to 70 or 80 non-Brahmans. As a result of this they may be able to strengthen their party a little.

345

Have the Ministers ventured to obstruct the progress of the country in the interests of the party?

For the week ending 10th October, 1925.

The Criminal Tribes Act in the Tanjore District.

83. Adverting to the proceedings of the public meeting of the Kallars, held for considering the proposal to enforce the criminal Tribes Act in some parts of the Tanjore district, and the statement reported to have been made by the Special Officer at the meeting, that no benefit has resulted from establishing village panchayats and that some leading Kallars have expressed themselves in favour of the introduction of the Act, the Swadesamitran observes:-- It would have been better if the special officer had given out the names of the leaders who expressed themselves in favour of the introduction of the Act. As far as we know the leaders of this community are opposed to this step. The expected results will not be achieved by the establishment of panchayats alone. The government have remained indifferent despite the suggestions made by Mr.Rajappa and other leaders regarding the further steps to be taken by them in this matter. There is no use in their throwing the blame on the people, after ramaining indifferent like this. The statement made by the special officer that this Act should be brought into force in certain places, reminds us of the story of the Arab and the camel. We hope that the authorities will, without resorting to chastisement, seek other ways of reforming the Kallars who are industrious by nature.

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43. The Andhra Vani writes:-- It is serious blot on the national life of the country that the Justice party joined the side of the government, thinking that no act done by them to subjugate the Brahmans could be wrong. The Justice party deserved to be congratulated on their rallying to the side of the government in every matter, discovering the principle that the people cannot enjoy happiness without the existenc of arbitrary authority. What wonder is there in the bureaucracy which is ready to be destroyed to-day or to-morrow attempting to perpetuate its arbitrary authority with the help of this party. It is the main principle of the westerners to divide the Indians, promote disputes among them, create mutual jealousy in them, and thus rule India. Nobody knows how the non-Brahmans confide in the westerners who have been ruling India for one-Hundred and fifty years without conferring happiness, prosperity, education or freedom, on the people. How can the non-Brahmans who intend keeping the people slaves by joining the foreigners who have no affection, no respect and no love for the people, hope to secure influence among the people?

The Justice party.

<u>For the week ending 17th October, 1925.</u>

16. In a leader criticizing the speech recently delivered by Mr.S.Srinivasa Ayyangar at Nannilam, the Kudi Arasu remarks that several persons advised Mr.E.V. Ramaswami Nayakar to take action against Mr.Ayyangar for his statement to the effect that Mr. Nayakar went to Madras and delivered a lecture in connection with the recent City municipal elections, at the request of the Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal to carry on propaganda on

Brahmans and the British Government.

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behalf of the Justice party in these elections, and observes:-- It is Mr.Nayakar's opinion that it is not necessary to resort to courts established by the Government in cases like this, unless there are special reasons for doing so. Besides, non-Brahmans can obtain only the same kind of justice, in cases in which they and the Brahmans are the contending parties, as is available to the Indians when they and Europeans are the contending parties. Though the Brahmans have given some room to the members of other classes in other departments, they have very carefully kept the departments relating to law and justice in their own hands. Hence, it is our opinion that it is better to rely on the verdict of the general public than to resort to the courts established by the Government. Though Mr.Ayyangar sympathises with the objects of the Gurukula, it is his opinion that they cannot be realized in practice at present. The Government too adduce only a similar argument. They are also saying that, though they are sympathetic towards the attainment of swaraj by the Indians, it will not be possible of realization now. We do not know in what way persons like Mr.Ayyanger are more honest than the Government. The Government have kept 33 crores of people in a state of bondage with the help of cannon, bombs and jails. But these groups of Ayyars and Ayyangars, with mutilated puranas and kusa grass in their hands, are treating us worse than the Government.

23. The Swarajya writes:-- It is said that there is no caste distinction among Englishmen. Be that as it may the government of India are bringing new castes into existence. They have, by means of legislation, brought into existence a caste known as criminal tribes. There is an Act called the Criminal Tribes Act. It is nothing but a piece of repressive legislation and its object is that those who are

The criminal tribes.

said to belong to a criminal tribes should always be under the surveillance of the authorities. We do not know how the Government came to classify a group of people as a criminal tribe. Perhaps, the Government of India are devising these shortcuts, as they want to conduct the administration easily! The Criminal Tribes Act was first of all enforced on Koravars and certain other tribes by the Government. But the extent of its application is increasing gradually. The Kallars of the Madura district became a prey to this cruel Act. It appeared some time ago that this would affect the Kallars of the Tanjore district also. But it was avoided by the efforts of the association started by mirasidars of this class like Vandayars, Thevar and the Zamindar of Papanad. Again, there is a proposal to apply this Act in the Tanjore district. It is said that the Kallars of the Tanjore district have not been reformed in spite of the formation of an association, that no indications of their reformation are visible and that the Criminal Tribes Act has to be enforced! It appears that this is the suggestion of the Special Police officer who has been appointed to reform the Kallars! If it is said that the back-bone of the Kallars in the Tanjore district has not yet been broken, that they still walk with raised heads and that the Police are therefore angry with them on this account, there will be a good deal of consistency in it. It may be asked whether the initiative of the Police alone will be sufficient for enforcing the Criminal Tribes Act. But are they not the custodians of peace and is any further excuse needed? What is the cause of the Criminal Tribes Act rearing its head now? Mr. Rajappa and others, who came into prominence of account of the favour of the Government, have not been in the good books of the Ministerial party for some time past. They became nationalists and conducted a Conference at Tanjore which condemned the Ministerial party. Will the Government brook this? Is this not a

sufficient reason?

For the week ending 5th December, 1925.

Brahmans and untouchability.

35. The Kudi Arasu publishes a long article on this subject, in which the following observations find place among others:-- We see the Brahmans, who form a small percentage of the population of India, deem themselves to be superior to the rest, whom they designate as Sudras, birds and worms. Christians and Muhammadans, though styled Mlechas by the Brahmans and their righteous shastras, are allowed certain privileges like walking along the streets, because they are united and they behave like good boys to the Government. We see seven crores of our Indian brethren being considered to to be Panchamas and Chandalas and deprived of the right of walking along the streets and coming into contact with the rest of the people, on account of their not behaving like good boys to the Government and having committed the 'sin' of not embracing Christianity, the State religion. The Hindu religion, which embodies high principles and preaches that every object, however insignificant it may be, is the embodiment of the Almighty, is being ruined owing to the wily machinations of a few, seeking their own interest, and a large community is being dismembered, driven under the control of foreigners and immersed in slavery. If this cruel Brahmanic faith had not entered India, the latter would not have been reduced to her present condition. All the same, as these Brahmans are able, on account of their alleged superiority to other classes, to eke out their livelihood without toiling like others and they have obtained influence by being

x Panchamas and Mlechas and to whom they deny even the liberty enjoyed by ~~[illegible]~~ brutes,

350

accomplices and spies of the foreign Government, they are quite callous to the evil effect of untouchability and the sufferings caused to the people thereby and are striving to perpetuate the same. Unless this Brahmanic faith is got rid of from our country or unless the idea that the Brahmans belong to a superior class by birth is rooted out, it will be next to impossible for the Indians to attain liberty, swaraj or freedom from the cruel effects of foreign rule. While Mahatma Gandhi and other humanitarians are striving to get rid of untouchability, how unjust it is that an order under section 144 should have been passed prohibiting the brethren of the Ezhava community (the community to which the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Krishnan belongs) from passing along the municipal streets in Palghat! Whom are we to blame for this? How can the British Government be held responsible for this? It is the Brahman government that should be held responsible for all such acts of injustice and cruelty. What other national service is there for the people to perform than that of getting rid of this Brahmanism and this Brahman government? The Dravidan writes:- It is a high handed act on the part of the Government of Madras to have issued an order under section 144 prohibiting the Ezhavas, who have become Arya Samajists, from entering the Kalpathi agraharam. We are not surprised at the issue of this order seeing that the Law Member of the Government of Madras is a Brahman. The Law Member may say that the order was issued on account of the apprehension of the Government that the entry of the Ezhavas into the agraharam would lead to a disturbance. But we cannot accept this argument. The Ezhavas are contending for their rights to walk along the agraharam. So, the Government are bound to protect the rights of a class, whatever disturbances may occur. Further, the Ezhavas of Kalpathi did not try to pass along the agraharam armed with sticks and swords for the

351

purpose of committing mischief. It is the Brahmans who opposed them and it is they who were prepared to create disturbance. So, the Government shouldxx have instituted proceedings against the Brahmans, instead of issuing an order under section 144.

The Mitavadi writes in English as follows:--

What shall we think of a father who, when his starging child asks him for bread, gives him a smacking box on the the ear? Governments who to avoid their plain duty have heroic recourse to the provisions of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, have always struck us in the same light. They know what is right but are afraid or unwilling to do it: and this fear or unwillingness, reaches to the extent that they cannot even allow people, who are entitled to their help in doing a thing, to do it if possible without that help. When Mr.Thorne was in Palghat, he clearly made the Kalpathi Brahmans understand that the Arya Samaj being a no-caste organisation, the Arya Samajists were entitled to use the Kalpathi agraharm and the could not therefore prevent such entry. In our last week's remarks on the subject, we pointed our that this was the only answer that could be made if the similar claims by Muhammadan or Christian converts were sustainable. Now, these brave words of Mr.Thorne meant that Government would bravely support the freedom of Arya Samajists to use these streets irrespective of occasion. Mr.Thorne is not here as Collector of Malabar this week; so, we cannot ask him how the policy of the government which he represented in this week-underwent this quick-change artistic change in less time than what one requires to say 'Jack Robinson'. In our leader last week, we specially referred to the practice of killing public rights by section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code -- a use of the section not dreamt of by the honest men who thought that by its

352

enactment they were helping and not hindering the cause of civilized administration in India. It is nothing short of interference with the rights of citizenship to prohibit the Arya Samajist from doing in Kalpathi what the Muhammadan or the Christian convert is thereby not prohibited from doing and it shows in a glaring light the favoured position occupied by the religions of Mr.Mior and of Mr.Muhammad Usman in the streets of Kalpathi among Sir C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar's tribesmen. The question with which we are concerned is as we pointed out a larger one than the entry of Ezhavas into Kalpathi. It is the question of whether it is Christian or Muhammadan subjects of the King-Emperor alone who are entitled to be protected against the tyranny of Brahman caste orthodoxy in the year 1925. We had better be told so if that is a fact, because there is no need for other religions to have any false hopes in the matter. So far as the Kalpathi order is concerned, the Brahmans were bound to win with a Brahman Law Member, a Brahman Advocate-General and a Brahman Municipal Chairman. The same paper publishes a letter from Sadhu Sivaprasad in the course of which the writer observes:-- Now lo! The Government influenced by the sorcery of the Brahmans of Kalpathi have sallied forth armed with section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. How atrocious it is that even a government should assist in thus perpetuating injustice and superstition. The government is committing a great blunder in thus nurturing the rakshasaic nature and perversity of the Brahmans of Kalpathi. As this policy of Government tends to destroy the ancient Aryan dharma of the Hindus, casts an insult on the religion of the Rishis who were the founders of the land of Bharata and spurns at the natural right of 7½ crores of human beings, we condemn that policy with all our heart. Referring to the prohibition order issued by the Subdivisional Magistrate, the Mathrubhumi observes:-- It can be safely asserted that this was not an

353

order issued according to that officer's own discretion but that he must have acted on instructions from Madras. The superior authorities who so implicitly relied on the secret reports of local authorities in the matter of releasing Sriman M.P.Narayana Menon or 'the Khilafat leaders of Ernad' had not the least hesitation in this affair, to set at naught the open promise given by the District Collector Mr.Thorne. This event proclaims once more that from a foreign government who are constrained always to help the Conservatives, nothing but obstruction can be expected in the matter of establishing the rights and privileges of the people, be they political or social. It is difficult even to imagine a more insulting, unjust and atrocious order than this. Viewed in whatever light, it can never be justified. It is the duty of every citizen who has self-respect and a sense of liberty not to submit to such an order. The lovers of freedom, throughout Malabar, should be prepared without delay to demonstrate their condemnation of such a policy of Government. Referring to the order issued under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code prohibiting converts to Arya Samajism from entering Kalpathi, the Manorama observes that it has caused intense pain to all true lovers of Hinduism and remarks:-- According to the order now issued by Government, it would appear that those who have been converted to Christianity and Muhammadanism may enter Kalpathi and that only those who have joined the Arya Samaj may not do so. This will amount to encouraging or even forcing the depressed classes to accept Christianity or Muhhammadanism. It will never be just on the part of the Government to do such acts for the purpose of maintaining peace. Government pretend that they are neutral as ragards religious matters. But this order, which obstructs the strength and freedom of the Hindus and especially of the Aryans, abundantly makes clear how

groundless is that pretence. Swami Sradhananghaji has requested every one to strongly protest against this unjust procedure. We expect every one to record disapprobation of this policy of Government. The Malayala Manorama observes:-- It is surprising that the Madras Government have arrived at such a conclusion (that it is necessary to prohibit Arya Samajists where Christians and Muhammadans are allowed free access). It must be for fear of Brahman agitation, that the Government issued such an order. As long as government have power in their hands to put down those who infringe law and order, it is unnecessary to issue such unjust orders. The Madras Government have decided that the Arya Samaj converts belonging to the depressed classes should resort to the civil court for the establishment of their rights. He would have been well if it were decided that those who deny them the rights should resort to the civil court.

Remarking that the Arya Samajists have started a futile agitation against the Government of Madras in connection with the prohibitory order issued by the Magistrate in Palghat, the Qaumi Report asserts that the order having been issued in accordance with the prevailing customs and at the request of Brahmans could never be unjustiable. It goes on to say that the Government's policy is neutrality in religion and its duty the maintenance of prevailing law and that under the circumstances Swami Sradhanad instead of inciting his disciples to oppose the Government ought to have started an Anti-Brahman movement for getting the untouchables equal rights with the Brahmins; and adds that if they consider the untouchables as such even after their conversion to Arya Samajism they have their own religious justification for it.

355

For the week ending 12th December, 1925.

29. The congress says:-- From the fact that Mr.Thanikachalam Chetti, a member of the justice party, who was defeated at the Madras Corporation elections for the Muthyalpet division by Mr.B.Satyanarayana, a well-known Swarajist, has been nominated as a member by the Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal, Minister for Local Self-Government it is clear that the end of the Justice party is approaching. It is deplorable that Mr.Chetti who was rejected by the voters and declared to be unfit to be a representative of the people should accept the nomination and forego his self-respect. That the Hon'ble the Raja should consider the strengthening of his ~~self-respect That the~~ party by any means as the supreme goal and do this act without considering its pros and cons betrays his contemptuous attitude towards public ~~considering~~ opinion. It is on account of such mean acts that the Justice party is becoming the object of the hatred of the people. The people are making themselves ready to teach a lesson to this party in the coming elections. We do not know why Sir K.V.Reddi Nayudu falls foul with the Swarajist for trivial reasons though his party is stooping to such meanness. The Hon'ble the Raja and Sir K.V. Reddi are the great leaders of the Justice party, which is full of men who cling to offices. Who can describe the policy of the Justice party?

The Justice party.

For the week ending 19th December, 1925.

23. The Mathrubhumi says that although the Justice party's ostensible object is to safeguard the interests of non-Brahmans

The Justice party.

from the Brahmans, yet instead of doing this, what they do is to secure positions and titles to themselves and to their partisans. Institutions for local self-government, instead of progressing, deteriorated under the direction of the Raja of Panagal. The paper quotes as an instance the administration of the District Board of Malabar. The paper goes on to observe that the nomination of Mr. Tanikachala Chettiar, to the Corporation of Madras by the Raja of Panagal proves more than ever that the Justice party are ready to do any improper and unjust act to attain their end. Through the defeat of his party at the last election Mr.Tanikachala Chettiyar, who was the president of the corporation, was not able to get even a seat in the corporation. The paper says that the power of nomination is used not for securing representation to minorities but for combating public opinion. The Al-Amin makes similar remarks and strongly condemns the nomination of Mr.Tanikachala Chettiyar to the Corporation as an abuse of power by a selfish and irresponsible Ministry.

C

357

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

REPORTS ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR PAPERS:

FOR THE YEAR 1926.

For the week ending 2nd January, 1926.

The non-Brahman conference.

23. Referring to this conference which was recently held at Madras, the Swarajya observes:-- The Justice party who have convened this conference are very anxious to call it a non-Brahman conference. If one bestows some thought on the number of representatives that attended this conference from the several districts, on their social status and on how many of them are members of district and taluk boards seeking the favour of the Ministerialists, it will become clear that it was only a gathering of a few. It neither chalked out any constructive programme in the interests of the country or society, nor was it conducted in such a manner as to merit its being called a conference of the majority of the public. What is the good in scandalizing one class of people and using strong language? Who will be the sufferer thereby? The Swadesamitran writes:-- As usual, some non-Brahmans have assembled and finished reviling the Brahmans. The unguarded statement made By Dr.C.Natesa Mudaliyar in the course of a resolution moved by him in the session held yesterday indicates how far the non-Brahman movement is supported by that community. While it is professed that this movement has the support of the non-Brahman public of this country, the expression of regret at the non-attendance of persons only betrays their cause. The proceedings were stereotyped and the President reviled the Brahmans to his heart's content. It has been so arranged that a member of another Presidency should do this service in this Presidency and a member of this Presidency should do a similar service in another Presidency. It is the duty of

every one interested in the welfare of this country to redress the grievances of the crores of non-Brahmans. So the Justice party has full right to take steps for the uplift of the non-Brahmans. But what benefit can be derived by the crores of non-Brahmans by the reviling of another class? Both in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies the Justice party wields influence and it has for the past few years been in a position to do immense good to the non-Brahmans. But what has actually been done? The Community as a whole has not been benefited by the fact that some posts have been bestowed on the members thereof. It is only the families of those persons that have been benefited. But, if the land revenue policy is settled and brought under the purview of the legislature, a very large number of non-Brahmans will be benifited, as it is they that form the majority of landholders in all the districts. Though the whole community will be benefited by means of land revenue legislation, not a word was spoken about this by any one in this conference. Further, there are crores of landed proprietors, traders, labourers and agriculturists among the non-Brahmans. What has the Justice party done on their behalf? Or what is it going to do hereafter? From the resolutions passed at this conference we can gauge the work of this party. A resolution was carried to the effect that the Government should work with the object of completely getting rid of drink within ten years. The Excise Department is under the control of a Minister belonging to this party. Will he come forward to act in consonance with this ideal? A similar ideal was accepted by the Government of Bombay. But the Government of India disapproved of their action. Has the Bombay Minister resigned his office on that account? No. We say that this resolution will be only on paper and will not be given effect to in practice. Will the condition of the poor who are ruined by drink be better by the Justice party supporting in the

Legislative Council the present excise policy of the Government but passing a resolution opposed to it at the Conference? If the power of the bureaucracy is wrested from them the required strength will be acquired for all the questions relating to education, excise, industry and labour being solved in the interests of the public. But, without coming forward to act in this direction, the Justice party is very anxious to root out the Brahmans who are small in numbers. Another resolution was passed to the effect that full responsible Government should be granted without delay to all the provinces and limited responsibility to the Central Government.. But what will they do to attain self government soon? The proceedings of the conference contain no answer to this question. So they will ask for swaraj with a view to please the public and stand by the bureaucracy to please them. But should so much fuss be made for this?

For the week ending 9th January, 1926.

24. Referring to the presidential address of the Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal at this Congress, the Swarajya writes:

The non-Brahman congress.?

What are the principles and creed of the political party commonly known as the Justice party? In the words of the Raja, this party acts with due deference to the views of the British parliament, but cannot forget, in the heat of the agitation carried on by it for securing the progress of the country by rousing the enthusiasm of the people, that the British connection has divine sanction. The Hon'ble Raja might have explained a little the relation subsisting between England and India. Perhaps the Raja, who was anxious to enumerate each and every achievement of the Justice party

during the past few years, could not find words to explain the nature of the British connection with India when he had to refer to that point! He says that this party is not the result of a feeling of hatred. But, though he does not openly revile the Brahmans like Mr.Jadhev, his words have the same venomous effect, though couched finely. Our readers can judge for themselves from their experience how far the words of the Raja, that hunt for office is not the goal of his party, are true. Is it possible for a party, which considers that British connection has divine sanction, to place any faith on self-reliance? Why should the Raja and his party, who are floating on the sea of British Imperialism, think of reaching the shore? We will never be against the non-Brahmans being vested with official responsibility. But our prayer is that they should work for the liberation of India and that they should act in such a manner as to secure their liberation. It is not conducive to the interests of the country that they should be depending on the good graces of the bureaucracy. Let nobody be deceived by relying on the boast of British connection. The cry that the British connection has divine sanction may serve as a ladder for a few to fulfil their aspirations. The Raja, who is immersed in the glory of British Imperialism, has not forgotten the case of the Indians in South Africa. In his opinion untouchability should be got rid of in India for the condition of the Indians in South Africa to be bettered. We agree that untouchability should be got rid of at once. But where is it laid down that, for this, the Indians in South Africa should suffer hardships at the hands of foreigners? The Swadesamitran observes:-- If the non-Brahman movement is carried on properly, the non-Brahmans, who form the majority of the population, will be benefited to a large extent. But our complaint is that, instead of evincing interest in the welfare of the people, some persons are furthering their own

interests in the name of this movement. The Hon'ble Raja has stated that his party has been working from the very beginning for the uplift of the rural population and that it has made arrangements for imparting education to them and increased the facilities for affording medical relief. Will the people feel glad if medical relief is afforded to them after starving them? The Mirasidars of the Tanjore district are villagers and the majority of them are very poor non-Brahmans. When resolution was moved in the Legislative Council for reducing the heavy assessment levied on their lands, all the members of the Justice party voted against it and thereby struck at the vitals of the poor. The Hon'ble Raja ~~votedxagainstxitxandxtherebyxstruckxat thexvitalsxo~~ states that, if he is asked to say what the non-Brahman movement has done for that community, he would say that the people would do well to compare their present condition with their condition ten years ago and point out the improvement in their economic condition. The people have to pay more as taxes at present than they did ten years ago. Most of them depend solely on agriculture. While so, it is not clear how their economic condition could have improved. But the Hon'ble Raja says emphatically that their condition has improved. We hope that the people will ~~makkt~~ realize the truth about this words from their own experience. After stating that, with the spread of education, ignorance has disappeared, the Hon'ble Raja has given the number of local bodies that are imparting compulsory education. If he compares the reports of the Education Department relating to the years previous to the advent of the Ministers, he will find that, even before he and his colleagues assumed office, the number of schools and boys and expenditure had increased every year. The bureaucracy was moved by the outcry raised by the late Mr.Gokhale about compulsory elementary education and the agitation carried on by the

362

Congress, and increased the expenduture on education year after year. As the Ministers are bound to adopt this policy, the number of schools and students had increased during the last few years. But we will say that the Ministers obstructed them from increasing to the extent to which they could have increased. The Education Minister issued an order that the Government would render financial assistance to the local bodies that wished to impart compulsory education, only if the latter levied an education cess. Several local bodies refrained from adopting the system of imparting compulsory education on account of their unwillingness to levy an additional cess whenw the people were alqeady suffering from an intolerable burden of taxation. When facts are like this, the statement of the Hon'ble Raja, that the ignorance of the people was put an end to through the efforts of the Ministers, can only mean that the Ministers did not dispel ignorance to the extent to which they couldxxx have done, during the last few years. The increase in medical facilities feferred to by the Hon'ble Raja is also an empty boast. If medical relief increases, there should be a fall in the death rate. We can find out from the report of the Public Health Department, whether there has been a fall. It is also clear from another report that the number of hospitals has decreased. The villagers are aware of the results of the scheme of affording medical relief in rural areas by subsidising some medical graduates who agree to practise in village parts. The meagre sum granted by the Government is insufficient to attract men with sound qualifications. The Hon'ble Raja did not forget to refer to the enactment of the Hindu Religious Endowments Act. Offices have be been created for several persons from the funds of the temples. The Raja enacted this law with the help of Christians, Muhammadans and Europeans and created a power for himself to interfere in the administration of Hindu religious

endowments. The appointments made under this Act they may be utilized for augmenting the influence of his party. But the temples and the people protest against this Act. The Navasakti writes:-- How can the action of a few non-Brahmans chalking out a special programme for themselves and fighting against many non-Brahmans, benefit the non-Brahmans as a whole? Is there any meaning in calling a movement, which creates a split among the non-Brahmans, a non-Brahmane movement? The address delivered by the Hon'ble Raja of Panagal is not suited to the present time. It is highly retrograde in character. Occypying as he does a Minister's post, will he desist from praising the British rule as having divine sanction? It is to be noted that a few are being benefited in the name of the non-Brahmans. We are not against the non-Brahmans promoting their own interests. But our question is only about the need for a special movement. Why should they not attend the Cawnpore Congress? Why should they not go there, ventilate their views and co-operate with the country? We cannot understand why a foreign language, a foreign dress and an attachment to foreign rule were so much in evidence in the non-Brahman Congress. The Tamil Nadu observes:-- From a political standpoint, we do not agree with the views of the Hon'ble Raja of Panagal. Though we admit that the principles of the Justice party are not worse than those of Mr.Kelkar and his friends, we are of opinion that to harp upon co-operation even after finding that co-operation is useless and that diarchy is worthless, would be tantamount to murdering one's own experience. The observation of the President, that provincial autonomy should be granted at least for Madras, is commendable. But his suggestions regarding the measures to be adopted by the Indians if the British Government fail to grant provincial autonomy, are funny. He says that British goods should be boycotted, that, if this is done, the British Government will grant a larger instalment

364

of reforms and that they will not let the situation grow so serious as to lead to the boycott of British goods. It is indeed surprising that he should have so much faith in the British Government or the British people. If the Raja of Panagal gets swaraj by petitioning, we need not spurn it. But it is highly doubtful whether this will happen. We are unable to agree with his statement that the British connection is intended for our benefit. But the time is long past when the people were deluded by such statements.

For the week ending 23rd January, 1926.

22. Referring to the presidential speech of the Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal at the non-Brahman Conference at Amroti, the Satyagrahi writes:-- The Hon'ble the Raja said that the present reforms were not enough and desired provincial autonomy. One who is manly and self-respecting will not like even to listen to the answer given by the Hon'ble the Raja to the question whether the Government will grant the request and what course is to be adopted in case they do not. He says that the Government will not care for threats, that the people have no strength in them, that they should depend upon the favour of the Government and that reverential submission to them is the only means to the attainment of swaraj. Even the slave of slaves will not always remain submissive to his master who pays and maintains him. No sensible man will desire him to be so submissive. But, our Raja is advising the Indian nation which consists of 32 crores of people to be always submissive to the British government in order

The All-India non-Brahman Conference.

to obtain its birthrights. The Telaga writes:--The Most important among the resolutions passed at the non-Brahmane conference was that about the reforms. All experienced politicians declare that the country is in a fit state to receive further reforms. The whole country is of one opinion in this respect. With full expectation of the hearty co-operation of the Government, some provinces have worked out the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. It will be unjust on the part of the Government to remember the state of some provinces which boycotted diarchy by means of dead locks, and disappoint the people of other provinces in the matter of affording them further facilities for political advancement. The speeches of Lords Birkenhead and Reading have created much disappointment in the hearts of the people in this respect. The people are under the wrong impression that the British Government are not willing to grant self-government to India . The responsibility of effacing this wrong impression from the minds of the people rests on the government. It will be just on the part of the government to consider at least the well being of the Empire and satisfy the people by granting further reforms at this befitting time. Those provinces which believe in Parliamentary methods successfully carried out the rerorms and showed their fitness for self-government. The people of Madras, Central Provinces, Bombay and such other provinces are qualified to attain provincial autonomy. Consistently with the principle of democratic rule, additional reforms must be granted to those who carried out the system of self-government so that they may advance further and further politically. The government must understand from the resolution of congress that the safety of the Empire will be at stake, unless the people of India are as soon as possible granted the freedom of self-government, with proper safeguards and satisfied. The next important resolution is that relating to the

South African problem. India could not bear the ill-treatment offered to Indians within the Empire. India alone occupies a very high place in the Empire. Under such circumstances, it is very unjust on the part of the Government of South Africa to introduce the Class Areas Bill and destroy the rights of the Indians. We say that in this matter which is painful to the whole of India and at a time when the cries of national freedom, individual freedom, and equality are reverberating in every nook and corner if the Government of India and the British Cabinet do not discharge their duty and responsibility in a proper manner, the honour of the Empire will be at peril and the people will distrust the government. The Government have to consider with sympathy the resolution regarding the giving of military training passed by this conference. It cannot but be said that this matter is a great dishonour to the country. We do not think that the heroic India which established empires and earned name and fame in the world is not in a position to defend herself: It is the duty of the government to take into account the services rendered by the Indians in the late great war. This is a matter which chiefly concerns the non-Brahmans. It is the non-Brahmans that valorously protected the country and its honour from the very beginning. Since 1891 the Telugu people have not had the benefit of military training. It is a matter of great regret to the Telugu people who helped the government in all the battles relating to this country and in foreign battle fields in the late war. We therefore pray that the Government and the Skeen Committee may consider this matter and do justice.

For the week ending 20th February, 1926.

Brahmanism.

42. Adverting to a letter from a South Indian Brahman official appearing in the Manchester Guardian, the Tamil Nadu observes:-- We have styled the policy adopted by British Imperialists for acquiring fresh territories, as 'Brittanism' Our readers may have noted that we have been referring to the policy adopted by the Brahmans for advancing and safeguarding their interests from time immemorial, as 'Brahmanism'. We are of opinion that these policies are not conducive to the welfare of mankind in general. Many may be aware that Brittanism and Brahmanism have had a clandestine friendship with each other for a very long time. The conduct of a South Indian Brahman is having written to a British journal about the pitiable condition of the Brahmans is detestable. Further, this Brahman official speaks disparagingly of the non-Brahman movement as the movement of the Sudras, while saying that the Government will fall into the hands of the Sudras in the Kaliyuga. The term 'Sudra' denotes great contempt. Every one should realize that this term means the son of a public woman or a slave. Hence it is disgraceful that at a time when South Indian Brahmans venture to write to the British papers that the Government will fall into the hands of Sudras and that the British should help the Brahmans, some non-Brahmans should continue to follow the customs and manners of the Brahmans.

For the week ending 6th March, 1926.

21. Referring to the inconsistency between the resolution

passed at the All-India non-Brahman Congress at Amraoti- that complete prohibition should be attained in ten years and the opposition offered by Sir A.P.Patro, who was an important leader of that congress, to the same resolution when it was brought in the Legislative Council, the Al-Amin asks, "what does this show except that they preach in accordance with the wishes of the people in popular conferences and speak so as to please the Government in the Legislative Council?" The paper concludes that such procedure of the Justice party conclusively shows that they are not people who work for public welfare and that they work at present only to gain their selfish ends by serving the Government. The approbation they have gained of the Secretary of State and of those English papers which side with him also shows, according to this paper, how wide is the gulf between the aspirations of Indians and the outlook of the Justice party.

The Justice party.

For the week ending 20th March, 1926.

26. Under the pseudonym "Lambodara" a correspondent contributes an article to the Chittaranjan wherein he describes the proceedings of a meeting of beasts held by the lion king in a forest recently conquered by him. The ruling lion race is represented to have created a split among the men and the beasts of the forests, rallying the latter to its side. The whole thing looks like an allegory wherein India is represented as a forest conquered by a band of exotic (the British) lions; the Brahmans as men, the non-Brahmans as the beasts of the forest. This is made clear by the following remarks of the lion-king (the Viceroy)

The Non-Human Conference.

who addresses the meeting at the end: " Oh, ye, beasts under our rule, we feel highly gratified that you should thus come corward. Unrestricted fredom prevails in our kingdom as to one's good and movements. That you should be happy is our wish. Men certainly have trodden you under foot from the very beginning. It is not enough that you have, now, leaving them formed yourselves into a separate group; you must from now guard youselves against falling into the wiles of men . One must stand on one's own legs. How can we stand on another's legs? May you be happy? We have been ruling this forest for your well-being. Our rule will last only as long as you live in happiness. We are mending many forests like this. God has sent us for repairing the world. Men are trying to eject us; but we have no mind to leave and go until even the mosquito attains to full intelligence and is able to march forward." The meeting came to close. The deer and the stag of all that came never turned homeward again. The birds on high flew away. Some animals that could, took to the heels in all directions. I heard the animals going away say that the lion-king the tiger, the fox, the wolf, and other high-handed beasts convened such a meeting simply to make a dessert of that group of deer, that herd of kine and that gathering of stags. I have now understood the secret of excluding man from this conference. The lion king and the tiger together contrived this plan, thinking that the presence of man in this pretence of a conference would mar the easy possibility of a feast for the higher authorities and that unless on the pretext of a conference, all the minor species of animals would not turn up from afar.

For the week ending 27th March, 1926.

For the week ending 27th March, 1926.

28. The Swadesamitran writes:-- "The members of the Justice party have often called their party 'the majority party' and the party in power. But it has become evident from the defeats sustained by them in the Legislative Council yesterday after the Congressmen had walked out of the Council, that they are neither the majority party nor the party in power. Doctor Natesa Mudaliyar brought forward a motion for a cut of Rs.100 in the grant for the Administrative charges in order to condemn the failure of the Government to give effect properly to the Government Order already issued by them for filling up vacancies in Government offices. But the motion was defeated. Mr.Krishnan Nayar similarly moved for a cut of Rs.100 in the grant for the Revenue Board to condemn the action of the government in not abolishing the Board, in accordance with the recommendation made by the Legislative Council already to that effect. It was also defeated. Hence, unless some members of the opposition or some Government officials or both support them, the Justice party cannot by themselves carry out anything in the Legislative Council. The Revenue Board has been considered to be an unnecessary body, by the popular leaders for a long time. Though resolutions for its abolition have been carried in the Legislative Council, it is still existing. The Justice party lack the strength to pass the motion brought forward in the Council to condemn the failure of the Government to abolish it. It seems strange that, when the party is supporting a certain resolution, the Ministers who are the leaders of that party do not support it. Where can the Ministers go if they support a resolution that is not supported by the Executive Council? They rely to a great

The Justice party.

extent on the support of the votes under the control of the Executive Council; If the Ministers also join in opposing the Executive Council, will not the latter desert them when they are in need of votes? The incident that took place yesterday clearly shows how diarchy is worked in this province. When the bureaucracy wants to defeat the opposition, the Ministers and their party support the Executive Council. In return, the prominent members of the Justice party have secured official posts; and the Executive Councillors will support them with their voting strength when they bring forward resolutions or Bills which have secured the previous sanction of the Executive Council. But when the Ministerialists oppose the Executive Council, the Ministers must forsake their own party. This has been the usual practice. The Ministerialists tried to oppose the Executive Council through the two motions referred to above. But the Ministers remained neutral, and the Ministerialists were defeated. Hence it is anomalous to call this party the majority party and the party in power. Yet, it has carried on a hunt for office and has also succeeded in that direction. But what the people want is not such office hunting. It seems that the Ministerialists have now realized that some action conducive to the interests of the people must be performed by them in view of the impending elections. It is reported that certain members of the Ministerial party approached the Governor for allotting some money in the budget for the work of village reconstruction. ~~what did they do when the budget was prepared?~~ If the Ministers had an interest in the work of village reconstruction, what did they do when the budget was prepared? Did they ask for money and did the Executive Council refuse to sanction the same? If it were so, did they complain about it to the Governor and did he also disregard their complaint? Then the question arises as to why the

Ministers are sticking to their posts instead of resigning.

The Brahmins.

42. The Tamil Nadu reproduces an article from the Kudiarasu, in which the following observations find place among others:--As a result of the loud protestations of Mr.(now Sir) C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar, who was the Secretary of the All-India congress committee at that time, that he alone was the real servant of the people and as a result of his herculean efforts he was elected to the Madras Legislative Council in 1920, as second in the list of successful candidates in the Madras City. Shortly after this servant of the people entered the Council, when the Government offered him the post of Advocate-General, he executed a volte face forgetting his pledges to the people and in spite of the enormous property possessed by him and his capacity to earn a large income as a lawyer. Not stopping with executing another big somersault and becoming an Executive Councillor, he unblushingly gave evidence before the Muddiman Committee to the effect that further reforms were not necessary to our country and is now having his eye on a seat in the Council of the Secretary of State for India. When this Brahman Minister recently visited Kumbakonam, the Ayyar-Ayyangar vakil group who are Rao Bahadurs and Rao Sahibs, and who profess to belong to the Congress-Swarajya party and make the non-Brahmans fly black flags when the non-Brahmans Ministers in Madras pay a visit to their place, alleging that they should be boycotted since they belong to the Satanic Government, presented addresses in schools and Bar Associations and entertained him in their houses by giving parties.

For the week ending 3rd April, 1926.

The Justice party.

30. The Mathrubhumi writes:--"If further evidence were necessary to prove the weakness and inefficiency of the Justice party who have an important share in the administration of this Presidency, it would be sufficient to examine the budget of the Madras Government. (Our Ministers have not the firmness of mind or the strength to fight for and get from the Executive Council the amount necessary for the departments under their charge. But what shall we say of their incompetence in not being able to spend even the money they were kindly allowed to have! This is what the Education Minister Sir.A.P.Patro and the Development Minister Sivagnanam Pillai have done. In view of the fact that as far as these departments were converned many important schemes could not be carried out for want of funds, this failure of duty on the part of the Ministers is entirely unpardonable.) We should like to know what explanation the 'Justice' partisans have to give for this. If instead of wasting all their energy in abusing the Brahmans, they had spent some portion of it in the development and expansion of their departments, they might perhaps have been able to convince the people that their election was not entirely useless.

The Brahmans.

45. The Tamil Nadu reproduces an article from the Kudi Arasu, in which the latter remarks that some Brahman members of the Mayavaram Municipality opposed a resolution brought forward in that municipal council for presenting an address of welcome to Dr.Varadarajulu Naidu, and that not stopping with this, these members sent a telegram to the Government to the effect that public peace would be endangered in

Mayavaram, if the Mayavaram municipality presented an address to Dr.Naydu, and observes:--Our readers should note how dishonest this action is. If the Brahmans conduct themselves like this even towards persons who have done much good to them what are we to say about their sense of gratitude? Just as the whites deem it to be an attempt to wage war with the Government if an Indian does the least harm to a member of their community and introduce martial law and just as the murder of an Indian by a white becomes an assault' and the offender is let off with a fine of Rs.10, anything said by a non-Brahman prejudicially to the Brahmans is deemed to be treachery to the country and an attempt is at once made to get rid of him, while any treatment that may be meted out to the non-Brahmans by the Brahmans becomes national service. When the character of these Brahmans is considered it may be said that the whites are a thousand times better than the Brahmans. We are not concerned with the address of welcome. But we regret that the masses have not yet realized the nature of Brahmanism.

For the week ending 22nd May, 1926.

3(6)Justice remarks:-- "The announcement of the personnel of the Public Services Commission must have come as an unpleasant surprise to the large majority of the citizens not only of this Presidency, but in the sister provinces of Bombay and Central Provinces, and the Government of India have once again given us proof of the cold neglect of non-Brahman interests which it has been their privilege to show during the past six years. To the government of India there seem to be only two communities inhaniting this great

continent, the Muslims and the Brahmans, and whenever there is need to fill in places hitherto filled by Europeans it must na- naturally go to the Brahmans. Take the local Government; there is the Law Member with power and patronage greater even than that of the Governor; there is a Brahman member of the Board of Revenue; there are the two Brahman Secretaries; there is the Brahman Director of Industries; a Brahman Registrar General; a Brahman Joint Registrar of Co-operative Societies nine out of eleven are Brahman Collectors; an army of Brahman High Court Judges, District Judges, Sub-Judges and District Munsifs, not to speak of the network in every department of Government, whether it be civil, Judicial, Police, Forest, Excise or Agriculture. Is it any wonder that the Government of India should have thought of a Brahman for the Public Services Commission who is the only one who can possibly represent the Hindu Community with dignity, glory and profit! May we know whether the Chief Minister and our Leader knew of this appointment, and if so, what steps he had taken to place the non-Brahman view before the authorities at Ootacammund and Simla? Has His Excellency ~~would have consented to this~~ Viscount Goschen been informed of the agitation that is bound to result as a consequence of this grave injustice, and is His Lordship a party, and a consenting party, to this injustice?

We are loathe to believe that His Excellency would have consented to this piece of injustice if he had been consulted, nor could we believe that the Chief Minister would not have placed these facts before His Excellency if he knew of the impending appointment. We speak with great restraint, but we cannot hide the fact that the cup of humiliation is full to the brim and that non-Brahmans are seething with discontent everywhere. Let there be no

376

mistaking of the coming events. We are anxious for peace for law and order, for constitutional progress, but it is most unwise to trade on our virtues and to test our loyalty to the breaking point. We know what great restraint the leaders are exerting over the masses, and we know what the consequences will be if that restraint is removed. Do the Government wish to court trouble in Southern India? The choice is theirs. For our part we are prepared!

A note of warning.

4. Writing under this heading, Justice states:-- We have often drawn attention in these columns to the extremely shabby manner in which the non-Brahmans are treated by the powers-that-be. Though it is nearly a decade now since the non-Brahmans started their agitation for an adequate share of representation in the public services, the authorities, for all practical purposes, still persist in the vicious practice of favouring the already unduly favoured members of the Brahman community. In fact, whenever an important appointment has to be made or a vacancy to be filled up, it is only the Brahmans who are thought of; non-Brahmans, however clever, capable and efficient, are clean ignored, and, if any protest is raised, there is no argument that ingenuity could invent which would not be pressed into service in plausible defence of the indefensible act. So huge has grown this scandal, and that in spite of all the proved loyalty and goodwill towards the Government on the part of non-Brahmans, that a good proportion of the latter have, of late, begun to think that the tactics of the Brahmans are infinitely superior to conduct and methods suggested by a strict regard to constitutionalism. Especially during the last few years the Brahmans and their press have been relentlessly agin' the

Government, and yet it is in this period that they have been ~~xakxxxkkxxxkyxx~~ given the maximum facilities to tighten their monopolistic hold on the public services. In our own province, for example, the Hon'ble the Law Member has been allowed to play his cards so unctuously that there is hardly a single department under his control where the Brahmans have not entrenched themselves deeply during his regime. The Hon'ble the Law Member is obviously determined to leave no stone unturned in the matter of Brahmanizing the services as far as he can. There is the City Police, and to-day, we have the appointment of both Deputy Commissioners held by the Brahmans. One of the Assistant Commissioners is also a Brahman. There is already a very widespread feeling of despair among our people, and it will not take long at this rate for that feeling to manifest itself in an extremely unpleasant manner. We do not want any favour from anybody, we only want justice and fairplay, and if that is denied to us, the Government may rest assured that they are asking for trouble, and trouble of a kind which they would not have experienced at any time before. We have done our duty by sounding this note of warning, and it is entirely for the Government to say whether they would profit by it or not."

For the week ending 29th May, 1926.

Brahmans and the Railway service.

15. The Dravidan writes:-- Though we have often pointed out that the interests of the non-Brahman employees in the South Indian Railway Company have not been properly safeguarded, the company have not paid any heed to it. Recent events show that the company are

intent on discarding the non-Brahmans and encouraging the Brahmans. They appoint Brahmans superseding the claims of non-Brahmans with long experience and service and make direct recruitments to new vacancies from among the Brahmans. It has become patent to the non-Brahmans that all talk of this Company Indianizing the services means only Brahmanizing them. There is nothing surprising in this as the important officers of the company in the different departments are Brahmans and they are making all possible efforts to prevent the non-Brahmans from entering the service. We hoped that the interests of the non-Brahmans would be safeguarded when the company started the work of Indianizing the services; but we have been disappointed. Not a single non-Brahman has been recruited to the Officers' grade. So, why will not discontent prevail among the few non-Brahmans there? The majority of the employees in the Workshops of this Company are non-Brahmans. Even these have begun to condemn the Company, unable to brook the treatment meted out to the educated among them by the European officials. These do not auger well. It is certain that troubles will arise and the European officials should realize that Ayyars and Ayyangers will not come to their rescue at the time. It is really unjust that the non-Brahmans should be treated in this way, in spite of the fact that they contribute most of the income derived by the Company. How long is this injustice to continue? We would say that the time has come for such injustice to terminate. There is no doubt that the practice of doing things topsy-turvy will cease then.

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30. The Dravidan (28th) writes:-- We do not know what views the Government of India hold about us. We are unable to understand their object in selecting Brahmans alone for all kinds of appointments, whether within or outside India. Brahmans are selected for appointment in the Council of the Secretary of State for India, the League of Nations, the Peace conference and the Executive Council of the government of India and for nomination to the Legislative Assembly and the local legislatures. Further, taking this Presidency, the Judges of the High Court are Brahmans, the District Judges are Brahmans, the Munsifs are Brahmans, the Law Member is a Brahman, the Member of the Revenue Board is a Brahman, two of the Secretaries to Government are Brahmans, the Director of Industries is a Brahman, the Registrar-General is a Brahman, the Joint Registrar of Co-operative Societies is a Brahman and nine out of the Eleven collectors are Brahmans. Is this all! Take any department at random. It is full of Brahmans. As if these are not sufficient, one of the Members of the Public Services Commission,* which has been instituted for making appointments in Government service, can there be a greater injustice than this? When we, the non-Brahmans, are in a majority in South India, how can the Government of India appoint Brahmans without caring for us? Sir T.Vijayaraghava Achariyar will draw Rs.3,500 per month as salary in this new appointment. Have the Government

Non-Brahmans and Government service.

(of India.........Contd.on page 24.)

* which has been recently appointed is Sir T.Vijayaraghava Achariyar, a South Indian Brahman. If a Brahman is to be selected as a Member of even the Commission,

of India no eyes to see and ears to hear? Are they unable to see what is going on in the plains below, on account of their being on the heights of Simla? Do they not know that a powerful movement called the non-Brahman movement has been started in South India for putting an end to these acts of injustice and a vigorous struggle carried on for the past ten years? A section of the Brahmans are trying to destroy the non-Brahmans, by masquerading as non-co-operators and Swarajists. Another section of the Brahmans are Brahmanizing every department of the Government. What is our position and where are we? We wish to know one thing. Are our Ministers acquainting the Governor and the Government of India with our views and feelings or not? Was the Raja of Panagal, the Chief Minister and our leader consulted? If so, what did he say? Were the evils that would result to this Presidency on account of this appointment represented to the Governor? Did our Minister represent to the Governor that the people are realising that indulgence in threats, abuse and attack is the best way to advance one's interests in these days? Do the Government of India desire that we should adopt only this policy? The time has come for us to take stock of our position. We will not tolerate our being treated like weeping children that are pacified by being shown a plantain fruit. We think that if either the Governor or the Chief Minister had been consulted in this matter, they would not have acquiesced in this injustice. The Government of India should realize that, even though we speak with restraint, the insult that has been offered to us cannot be brooked. We desire only peace and wish only to act in conformity with law and order. But if insults upon insults are heaped upon us, our patience will break down. Our people are keeping themselves under control; We know what will happen, if they get out of control. Do the Government court disturbances in South India? They may act as they please. We are prepared for everything. Complaining that both the

Deputy Commissioners and one of the Assistant Commissioners in the City Police are now Brahmans, the Dravidan (20th) writes:- We have frequently referred in these columns to the fact that the Gowernment are treating the non-Brahmans in a most contemptible manner. Though we have been agitating for the past ten years that there should be proportional representation in Government service, the Government are, without caring for us in the least, conferring more appointments on the Brahmans who are already over-represented in the service. The claims of non-Brahmans are never considered, however efficient they may be. This is perhaps the return for us being true and faithful to the Government! For the last few years, the Brahmans and their papers have been reviling the Government incessantly. But it is during this period of that the former have secured great advantages from the latter. For example, the Government of India have advanced the position of the Brahmans ~~and~~ to a high ~~their papers have been reviling the~~ level during this time. Whenever they want a person, they always select a Sastri, a Sarma, an Ayyar or an Acharya. The other provinces also are doing the same thing. Taking the case of our Presidency especially, our Law Member has planted members of his community in all the departments under his control. Almost all the appointments in the Judicial Department are held by men of his community. The non-Brahmans who hold a few appointments experience great troubles for the sin of being born as non-Brahmans. It is said that the Brahmans alone are highly efficient and that this is why they alone are given appointments. Perhaps efficiency is their sole monopoly! It does not matter what you think about it. The Law Member is out to Brahmanize the services. As he has accomplished his purpose in the Judicial Department, he has not turned his attention to the Police Department. There is no doubt that, within a few days (perhaps before the elections), all the Inspectors and sub-Inspectors in the City will be Brahmans. It is

noteworthy that non-Brahmans were not appointed in the vacancies caused by the retirement of Divan Badhurs P. Parankusam Nayudu and S.Bhavanandam Pillai. When these things are considered, how will it be appropriate to say that the non-Brahmans should carry on an agitation in a peaceful manner for getting their grievances redressed? Perhaps the Government have misjudged our orderly and peaceful conduct and are heaping insults on us! They will be mistaken, if they think like this. Discontent is spreading and taking a deep root among the non-Brahmans. If the Government fail to pay heed to it in time and do the needful, they will have to reap a whirlwind afterwards. It will not be long before they have this experience. We have been suffering for a very long time. But our zeal and manliness have not been damped. Let the Government realise that we are prepared for a struggle at any time. We do not desire rewards; nor are we expecting favours. We demand only our rights. We ask only for justice and impartiality. If the Government are not prepared to grant us these, they may act as they please. They will have to face a struggle the like of which they have not seen till now. We have given our warning. It rests with the Government hereafter to determine the course of their conduct in the future.

For the week ending 12th June, 1926.

Brahmans and Government service.

28. Referring to the appointments of Sir T.Vijayaraghava Achariyar as a member of the Public Service Commission, the Kudi Arasu writes:--The Indian representative on this commission is a Tamil Brahman. Thus the Government have selected for this post a person from the small

community of Brahmans, who number only three-fourths of a crore amidst 33 crores of Indians. He belongs to the caste, which claims to be superior to all other classes of people in India, and, in particular, belongs to the Ayyanger sect. All the matters connected with Public Services in India are now in the hands of this gentleman. The Government also will appoint only those persons who will act according to their wishes and sign whatever documents the Government sent them. This Brahman himself rose from a post carrying a salary of Rs.250, earned the confidence of the Government and a Knighthood by merely dancing to the tune of the Government and has now secured a responsible post carrying a salary of Rupees 3,500. Whenever the Government have responsible official posts to offer to the Indians, they bestow them only on Brahmans. They have no faith whatever in non-Brahmans. Whenever the Government want to have a thing done with a view to ruin the Indians, they rely on Brahmans. For instance, they appointed only a Brahman to represent the Indians on the Rowlatt Committee, which was asked to frame the Rowlatt Act whose object was to keep the Indians under control, treating them worse than animals. Further, they took only the opinion of an Ayyangar Brahman on the question of the monthly cost of sub-sistence of an India. A propaganda is carried on for duping the people that the Ministers are office-hunters. But they never sucured any office relying on the favour of the Government. They owe their position to their party having secured a majority in the legislature. But under what law did the Brahmans secure posts? It is under the law known as the favour of the Government. They got them as a result of dancing to the tunes of the Government and helping the latter by ruining the people.

For the week ending 10th July, 1926.

For the week ending 10th July, 1926.

The Justicy party.

41. The Swarajya writes:-- The fuss made by the Justice party is to be seen only in the City of Madras. It is all abuse and redicule. The Congress which has been serving the country for a long time does not lose by such abuse. Such men as Sir K.V.Reddi Nayudu who had once been broadmindedd enough to serve in the Congress were blinded by selfishness and prostrated themselves at the feet of the civilian Government who are robbing the country of its ~~xghtx~~ rights and enjoyed offices. But the people cannot tolerate in the least either this system of Government or the Justice party who wish to perpetuate it ~~xomehow~~ somehow to gain their selfish ends.

For the week ending 17th July, 1926.

The 'Justice' Party.

34. The Desabandhu writes:--The 'Justice' party means the party of the just. It is said that this party has appeared for working in the interests of non-Brahmans. We have often pointed out how they are doing this work. The latest act of injustice committed by that party is that the Minister for Development belonging to that party has decided to send a non-Indian to the Western countries for studying the question of improvement of cattle. If an Indian is sent to the Western countries for studying the methods of breeding cattle, etc., he will acquire a special knowledge of this subject and will be serviceable to this country throughout his life. But, if a European is sent for that purpose at a huge

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cost, he will, after his return to his native country on his retirement, use this knowledge only for the benefit of his countrymen. The mentality of the Justice party has been made patent by the fact that it could not find even a single non-Brahman qualified to study the western conditions of breeding cattle, etc. Let the non-Brahmans, who are under the delusion that the Justice party exists for their benefit, wake up at least hereafter.

For the week ending 24th July, 1926.

The Justice party and the government.

31. The Swarajya (Tel) writes:--'Even before the Hon'ble Raja Ramarayaningar returned to Madras, the Justice party papers circulated the rumour that Lord Irwin consented to grant provincial autonomy to Madras. The Ministers in Madras acted according to the wishes of the Government without caring for individuality and self-respect. The Government have the confidence that there will not be any danger to the free exercise of their authority even if some more power is vested in the Ministers. Lord Willingdon stated in England some time back that even some more powers might be given to the Ministers when such Legislative Councillors as the Hon'ble Raja Ramarayaningar, who secured his office a second time also for some self-gain, saying that it did not matter much even if the power of making appointments was taken away by the Governor, were available. The Ministers are under the illusion that the interview with Lord Irwin might help them in obtaining votes in the coming elections. None believes in their boastful utterances that they are bringing new powers to the people.

Cannot the foreign rulers understand the treachery to the country of those who, taking advantage of the prevailing unrest in the country, take to self-interested action? The Government do not entertain greater respect for these persons than what they deserve. When once their purpose is served, the Government will neck them out if they show the least independence and self-respect. Lord Irwin certified their party as a constitutional one. Ah! The parties which act in opposition even to the well-being of their country in order to perpetuate the authority of the Englishman will always obtain the commendation of the Governors and the Viceroys. Our advantage cannot but be a loss to our rulers. The Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal felt sorry at the Madras Club at Simla that communal hatred in South India ruined many an ancient institution. But the people cannot forget that Ramarayanin & Co., are responsible for it. No good will result from feigned lamentations. If Raja Ramarayaningar really possesses a conscience he will do well to put an end to this propaganda of abuse. Otherwise, people will do what they ought to. The outlook will become clear when once the blindness of authority disappears. When the attempts of the Congress which, going along the path approved by all, indentifies the well-being of the country with its own, are crowned with success, the rulers and those who fawn upon them will learn a lesson.

For the week ending 31st July, 1926.

The evils of the justice party.

31. The Chittaranjan writes:-- 'There is the evidence of history to prove that the British ~~came to occupy India by sowing seeds of dissension~~ came to occupy India by sowing seeds of dissension among the then

ruling princes of India, and setting them one against another. Innumerable instances may be cited to show that even to-day they persistently pursue the same policy for the upkeep of their Empire. On the occasion of the partition of Bengal, they cajoled the Muslims, set them against the Hindus and thus prevented every movement of the day from becoming completely successful. When the swaraj movement raised its head under the name of 'Home rule', Lord Pentland, the then Governor of Madras, which was the centre of the movement, inaugurated the Justice party enlisting as members of the same some zamindars and many other selfish men. It is, then, that this party first saw the light of day and has ever since been living on the Brahman-non-Brahman animus. Lord Pentland secretly preached a certain evil philosophy to them. He said that the non-Brahmans formed 98 per cent of the population, that swaraj could not be granted in their own interests until they too acquired lucrative appointments, titles and fashions like the Brahmans, for, if swaraj should be conceded the Brahmans, who were already in the enjoyment of such fortune, would usurp the whole Government and make the condition of the non-Brahmans much worse than what it had been and that, therefore, they should obstruct the Home rule movement and stand by the government in which case they would become the recipients of high offices. He added that the existence of the British would be beneficial to them, inasmuch as it would enable them to attain to that educational pre-eminence which was so badly needed by most of them. Some five or six non-Brahmans rose to the occasion, reminded themselves of their defeats at elections in competing with Brahmans and considered the time opportune to raise the standard of revolt against the Brahmans and set up the 'Justice party'.

As for elections, what is the practice of the 'Justicites'? They catch hold of a wealthy man who can wield influence over ten or more villages, hold out some lure to him with the selfish motive of securing by force the votes of his debtors. Do they carry on propaganda and preach to voters that it is their sacred duty to boldly vote for him whom they consider most competent? But instead, they have taken to propound communalism saying, for example, that the Telegas must become one or the ryot population must unite. They are starting at the rate of one newspaper per community. Can the Justice party ever absolve itself of the treachery to the country which it has perpetrated by having aroused communal jealousies?

For the week ending 7th August, 1926.

The evils of the justice party.

34. The Chittranjan writes:-- Many patriotic leaders have been crying hoarse that the English schools which have been flung upon the country like so many evil spells by the British Government have promoted without any doubt all the slavish attachment, this glamour for service, this effeminate spirit and this desire for depandence and plunged the nation in dire poverty. Our ancestors who rendered yeomen services to the Muhammadan rulers in the past were glad to receive in ruturn inams, jarits, presents and precious jewels. But we, their descendants, to day are enamoured of the empty and ludicrous verbal titles bestowed by the British Government, sacrifice all our property, duty and patriotism for their sake and receive them as great boons.

Can there be a more miserable plight for the country than this? Even dogs which fight over a worthless dry bone will understand after some time that there is no substance in it and go away, each its own way. But our Indian brethren invoke, out of ignorance, the brute in them, kill their manhood, strive for the patronage of those foreigners who are carrying every day in so many ways crores of rupees to their respective countries, do not participate in movements calculated to advance the national cause, adopt either selfishness or co-operation which is capable of perpetuating the present national servitude and move like respectable persons. Need it be pointed out whether or not this is treachery to the country?

For the week ending 14th August, 1926.

The record of the Justice party.

34. The Andhra Patrika observes:-- Of all the Transferred departments, we may say that the Industries department has been of no use to the people. The Minister in charge of it is one who does not know what industries are. He acts according to the didtates of his subordinates, but has no discretion of his own. He does not know what ways he has to adopt for the development of agriculture and industries. After all, the money his department gets is very little, and he does not know how best to spend even that little amount. If we see the report of the Industries department published year after year, we will see that the results obtained are next to nothing. Nevertheless, there is no scarcity of staff in the Department of Industries. This department would spend

a lot for research work and for this purpose and that, but would not come forward to spend even a little for the spread and the development of the spinning wheel. What is the reason? The spinning wheel is the means to swaraj, and so they cannot help it. The Justicites who profess to be the sympathizers of the Non-Brahmans do not like at all the mention of the name of the spinning wheel, which is a boon to the non-Brahmans in general.

For the week ending 4th September, 1926.

The Justice Party.

26. The Swarajya (Tel) writes:-- It is the duty of every Indian to criticise the improper way in which the foreign government have been conducting themselves for the past six years but when own countrymen prostrate themselves before, and utter pacifying words to, the foreign ruler who is sitting on our head and kicking us, our hearts cannot but grieve to think whether the country will ever have emancipation. More than the outside enemies, the injustice done to the country by the acts of those within, is cruel. The strength of the Justice party went down even by the time of the last elections. But Lord Willingdon saved it from death by giving it another lease of life for three years. But this time, the people are determined to bid good-bye to the Justice party Ministry even though it may have the favour of the rulers. The Justice Ministry bartered its self-respect and individuality with the Government for small gains and unanle to act independently in matters concerning the well-being of the country, became responsible for the greater misery suffered by the people now than in the pre-reform days. The English officials who make use of this country for their own advancement used to fear popular

agitation at least to some extent before the reforms were granted. But since the Justice party joined sides with the Government in Madras, the Civilian officers have been acting as they liked under the name of the Ministry. From the way in which the departments of education, sanitation, etc., have been made to serve petty selfish ends in the hands of the Raja of Panagal, we find that neither he nor his party deserves the confidence of the people.

28. The Swadesamitran observes:-- Though it is a matter for surprise that the members of the Justice party, who refused to accept the principle that legislation about an important matter should not be enacted in a legislature which is about to expire, should have argued to-day for the adjournment of the consideration of the Irrigation Bill in the Legislative Council, we can very well expect it from them. They do not allow themselves to be bound by any principles or rules. Their practice is only to carry out their object whenever they find it possible to do so. (The Irrigation Bill was originally passed by this Council. The Governor has referred it back to the Council with a recommendation that certain amendments should be effected in it. If those ammendments are accepted, the mirasidars will be adversely affected. But if they are opposed, the displeasure of the Government will be incurred. So if the consideration of this Bill is adjourned to the new Council, the Justice party can please both the voters and the Executive Council. That is why the members of this party have argued throughout this morning that the consideration of this Bill should be adjourned. But it is scandalous that the Hon'ble Mr.Marjoribanks should have spoken in support of this motion.)

The Justice party and the Irrigation Bill.

For the week ending 11th September, 1926.

31. The Swarajya (Tel) winds up an article under this heading as follows:-- The Heroes of the Justice party started anti-non-cooperation league with the aid of the district authorities became the servile servants of the Government, granted what all powers they demanded, and endeavoured to suppress the strength of their own countrymen. In the absence of the support of these persons, the Government would not have continued even for a single day. The Congressmen have now undertaken to capture the Legislative Councils only to deprive the Government of such support in the future. So, the people themselves have to decide whether they will do well to give their votes to the Justice party, which supports the foreign Government which is teasing the people in every way or to the Comgress which is enduring innumerable hardships in order to make popular force assert itself.

The six years of 'Jusitce' rule

For the week ending 18th September, 1926.

33. The Styagrahi writes:-- What are the characteristic features of the British administration in India? What would the Historian write? He cannot but write that the British rule in India consists in making promises whenever necessary, and casting them to the winds, without fulfilling even a single one of them. The Emperors and their ministers have declared many a time that they are ruling India solely for the good of the Indians. But many learned economists have proved the fact that it was only during the British rule that India has become the abode of famine,

The Justice party.

393

poverty and disease, and has remained a living corpse. It is declared incessantly even to-day that, in the absence of the British Government in India, the people would cut each other's throats in the Hindu-Muslim and communal strifes, and that the British carry on their rule in India with the object of averting such a danger. Proclamations have been made ever since the days of Queen Victoria that the British will not interfere in religious matters. But it is known all over the world how they interfered with Muhammadanism after the termination of the Great War. How they opened fire on the followers of Sikhism in the Punjab and how the latter took satyagraha in defence of their religion are matters well-known to history. To-day, they have attacked the Hindu religion also. The history of the Religious Endowments Act itself is proclaiming in a thousand voices the falsity of the statement that the British Government are assuming a neutral attitude in matters pertaining to religion. Except the Justice Ministerial party who are striving to gain their selfish ends, all other people have condemned the Religious Endowments Act. Suits have been filed in the High Court questioning the legality of that Act- Several of the leaders in the country personally waited on Their Excellencies the Governor and the Governor-General and represented the defects in the Act and the popular disapproval of it. But what is the use? They gave their assent to the Act. The Raja of Panagal introduced a Bill to validate the Hindu Religious Endowments Act in the last session of the Legislative Council, and all the members belonging to the Justice party voted in favour of the Bill. Why should this Bill be introduced at the fag-end of the Legislative Council? The resolution of the popular party that it should be left for consideration to the new Council was thrown out. The Justice party, which is a pro-Government party, naturally voted against the resolution. Besides, the Justice party threw out the resolution requiring the Bill at least to be referred to a Select Committee.

The Raja of Panagal, his Justice party, and the Government who rendered them their full support, perhaps think that their object has been achieved. The wicked rule of the Justice party who have held authority for the past six years is vividly present before the eyes of the people. The promises made by the Government and their actions are not new to the people. The promises made by the Government xxxxxtoxthe and their actions arenot new to the people. But the misrule carried on till now by the Government and the justice party conjointly is almost surpassed by the enactment of the Religious Endow ents Act, which has rendered permanent harm to the Hindu religion. How will the people respond to the Justice party and the government who have done such great harm? The elections are fast approaching. Will the people bid good bye to the Justice party and elect those of the popular party, who can oppose the Governmentxx which makes false promises? Or, will they elect the Justice party who became one with the Government and caused permanent harm to the people? Coming events cast their shadows before. The Religious Endowments Act is certainly such a shadow cast before by the evil that is to come upon the Justice party in the coming elections. The Desabandhu writes:-- The departments of Education, Medical Aid, Local Self-Government Public Health and Agriculture are transferred from civilian officers to the Ministers, who are the elected representatives of the people. It will be seen from the satistics that the money spent on these departments after the reforms, is decreasing day by day, unlike in the pre-reform days. These departments of public usefulness developed at a quicker space under the administrative policy that obtained prior to the introduction of the reforms than they do now, under the administration of the Justice party. Moreover, the grants allotted for them are not spent in time and therefore lapse to the Government

This is a clear proof of the inefficiency of the Minister's administration. Sums amounting to lakhs of rupees which ought to have been spent on education and such other things conducive to the progress of the nation lapsed to the Government in this same manner during the past few years. The administration of the Justice party, who do not possess the ability to get a proportionate remission of the provincial contribution for this Presidency, who are not able to show in the Transferred departments the same rate of progress as obtained in the past, and who have not the wisdom to spend the full money allotted for their departments, has already disgusted the people. Not only is there no progress in the Transferred departments but the expenditure on the subjects administered by the Government has also increased without limit, as a result of the weakness of the Ministers. We are at a loss to know whether we have to feel sorry that the Ministers who ought to see the rate-payers' money spent for the benefit of the rate-payers, are unable to stop that increase, or whether we have to reprimand them for siding with the Government. Can the Ministry say that they have not helped the Government in increasing their expenditure? The Reserved departments have swallowed a lion's share of the revenues. What would then remain for the Transferred subjects? Such is the situation in the days when the revenues have increased. It is clear that it is only the bureaucracy that have been benefited by the reforms. The Ministry lent their support to it. The Ministers who ought to carry on their administration subject to the authority of the people, have betrayed their inefficiency by opposing popular aspirations and adding to the conveniences of the authorities. That being, so, it is the duty of one and all to see that the Justice party does not succeed in the ensuing elections. The congress writes:-- It will be clear from the figures given below how the Pangal party have

clung to Government for the past six years, yielded to the Reserved half, and starved the Transferred departments. The income of the government of Madras has, as a result of increased taxation and remission in the provincial contribution, increased by 74 lakhs according to the budget of 1926-27 from what it was in the pre-reform days. Taking advantage of the incapacity of the Panagal party the Reserved half have spent away the rate-payers money as they pleased for the salaries of the services, allowances of officers and amusements of Governors. During the past six years, the Ministry was able to obtain only 27½ per cent of the total revenues for Transferred subjects such as education, medical aid and industries. The remaining 72½ per cent was spent only by the Reserved half. Such a wretched state of affairs prevails only in our presidency. The Ministry in Bengal and Bihar have been able to obtain for the Transferred departments 34 percent and 73 per cent of the total revenues respectively. This proves the incapacity of the Ministry in this Province.. Our Ministry, having been too incapable and cowardly to oppose the arbitrariness of the Reserved half, the Government have taken advantage of it, and wasted the rate-payers' money on such departments as the Police and the Judicial. While, during the five years preceding the reforms, only 864 thousand rupees were spent towards the expenses of the Government House and the Bodyguard, during the five years after the reforms, expenditure under the same heads went up to 2,082 thousand rupees. When Mr.Satyamurti brought a resolution in the local legislature to retrench the Government House expenses, the Panagal Ministry stood by the Reserved half and defeated it. The above details clearly prove the absence of administrative capacity in the Justice Ministry. If such Ministers should still continue to be the rulers of our Province, it is impossible to imagine what evil fate will overtake the people.

397

It is therefore the duty of the people to defeat the Justice party in the coming elections.

34. The Andhra Patrike observes:-- In the course of the discussion on the Hindu Religious Endowments Validating Bill in Yesterday's Council-sitting,

The Justice party and personal abuse.

Mr.Koti Reddi moved an amendment that the word 'Government' should be replaced by the words 'a committee consisting of the Chief Justice of the High Court, the Law Member, and the Minister for Religious Endowments' Mr.Koti Reddi does not like that all powers should be solely left in the hands of the Minister. It is natural for the Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal to oppose this amendment. But it is not becoming on the part of the Hon'ble the Raja to attribute motives to him, and indulge in personal condemnation by saying that Mr.Reddi is entertaining such suspicious against the Government, because he had suffered many disappointments in his personal capacity. What are those disappointments? Did he aspire to become a Minister or a District Board President or was he given any promises by the Ministerialists which they failed to fulfil subsequently? It is a fact known to all that Mr.Koti Reddi is not a person to entertain any such ambition. We do not know the reason for this personal abuse on the part of the Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal. Whatever may be the reason, what is needed in the Council is criticism of facts, and not personal abuse. When the Chief Minister, the leader of the Justice party, is himself speaking in this manner, what lead can he give to other people? The Raja of Panagal said that Mr.Koti Reddi flew into a range, but the Council Proceedings yesterday clearly showed that the Raja himself was highly furious. From the very beginning, Mr.Koti Reddi kept himself aloof from all communal quarrels and has been rendering service to the country. He has been acting all along as a Nationalist.

No wise man will fail to enter his protest at the abuse indulged against such a person by the Minister. From the discuss discussion which took place in the Council, we have to believe that many are being offered a bait to join the Justice party. That a party which is full of such selfish persons should work for the advancement of the country, is a mere dream. When some members came out of the Justice party, even they, were accused of personal disappointments. The Justice party seems to have no policy or programme or even high ideals. That party, which is propped up by communal hatred and selfishness, has been doing acts which are detrimental to the attainment of swaraj and is thus strengtherning the efforts made to violate independence. If the people have any love for their country's independence, it is quite necessary for them not to give any room for this party in the new Legislative Council.

For the week ending 25th September, 1926.

Sympathy for Poona non-Brahmans.

7. Referring to the convictions of the non-Brahmans leaders in Poona, Justice writes: It was in the fitness of things that the non-Brahmans of the city should have assembled in such large numbers at the Soundarya Mahal last evening to express their sympathy with the non-Brahmans of Poona in their present sorrow and sufferings. Our people in the Western Presidency are passing through an agonizing and critical period in their history at present. Their leaders are being hauled up before the courts for one thing or another, and, thanks to the uncrupulous alarmist propaganda of the Brahmans press, a growing feelings of prejudice and hostility

is being created in the minds of the authorites against the whole campaign for the uplift of the non-Brahman communities. Nor will it be difficult, as circumstances are, to bring the non-Brahman leaders into trouble and suffering. They are up against the vested interests, and since in Bombay the vested interests are even more powerful than elsewhere so far as the Government are concerned, it can easily be surmised that the moment these interests are offended in any manner they will be able to take revenge. And as for offence--need it be said that the very fact that the non-Brahmans have begun to assert themselves is an offence of the worst type? We seriously ask the authorities whether they really hope to annihilate t is movement of self-assertion and protest on the parts of the non-Brahmans by dancing to the tune of the sacerdotal scare-mongers. If they, do they are very much mistaken, for the non-Brahmans of Maharashtra, as of other parts of the country, are no longer the apathetic mass of unawakened people who could be trifled with or ignored. Yesterday's meeting did well to warn the Government of Bombay not to think that their path will be strewn with roses immediately they have clapped into prision a Badge here and Lad there at the instance of the Brahmans. The sinster significance of the events in Poona must be carefully noted by our readers in this province. They show clearly that the Brahmans are determined to do everything in their power to put down the non-Brahman movement, and that the authorities too will on occasion lend a helping hand to them in the pursuit of this unholy objective."

36. The Dravidan writes:-- If there is a wicked class of persons in this world who eke out their livelihood by duping the ignorant masses in the name of God, it is the Brahmans of whom Satyamurti is one.

Brahmans and religious endowments.

It is the Brahmans who eat sumptuously thrice a day in choultries in the name of God and live idly. It is the Brahmans who, in the name of the deities in the temple, consume the eatables offered to these deities and appropriate the money contributions and other things dedicated to them. It is the Brahmans again who call themselves Gods on earth and carry away vegetables, pulses, cloth, money and other things in sraddas and marriages. It is the Brahmans who abet the Matadipatis in their debauchery and drink and spoil them. It is the Brahmans who act as the vakils of matadhipatis and mahants, rob the money belonging to temples and have built palatial mansions in Mylapore and Purasawakam. It is the Brahmans again who extort and rob the money belonging to temples from the matadhipatis saying that they will raise an outcry and work against the passing of the Religious Endowments Bill, send telegrams to the Governor and Governor-General and convene meetings for protesting against this Bill. Mr.Satyamurti wailed in the local Legislative Council that it was unjust to levy a contribution of 1½ per cent on the income of the temples and mutts for the maintenance of the Board of Commissioners. It appears that a 1½ per cent levy on the income of mutts and temples for meeting the expenditure of the Boards and Committees created for reforming these mutts and temples will be God's money. But when money is paid from the same mutts and temples to Brahmans, it will not be God's money according to Mr. Satyamurti.

For the week ending 9th October, 1926.

34. The Swarajya (Tel) writes:-- The Justice party have

made the boys in schools sing such songs as Brother, King George is our present Emperor' and are thus nursing a slave mentality in them even from their infancy.

The Justice party.

Even though such dominions in the British Empire as Canada and South Africa have rebelled against the authority of the British and have refused to accept their flag and have designed separate emblems to maintain their individuality, that the Justice party who are but born as Indians should hoist the British flag which is a sign of slavery upon their heads without any the least sense of shame, manifests their nature born of the British mentality. Was it to secure independence for the Indians that the Justice party heroes, did not sleep till they had destroyed the popular force in the municipalities of such places as Chirala and Bezwada! Or, was it to perpetuate the rule of the British who are foreigners deadly enemies to the aspirations of the Indians? The refusal of grants to libraries which contain valuable books written by Indian leaders such a Tilak and Gandhi who endeavoured to sow the seeds of independence in the minds of the Indians and also the grant to the National College of Masulipatam on the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction; the dismissal of thirtytwo students from the Medical School of Vizagapatam who wore Gandhi caps, a sign of Indian independence; the counsel given to the white dorais not to send Government publications to newspapers which adopted the creed of non-co-operation and broadcasted the message of Indian independence to the people; and the punishment meted out to municipalities which had honoured heroes of independence like Mr.Gandhi--are not all these various acts done by the Justice party to destroy the aspirations of the Indians and to perpetuate the alien rule of the British? When the Justice party does not consent to prohibition as that would cause a loss of six crores of rupees annually to the British who are but foreigners but consents to

the poor Indians sustaining a loss of eighteen crores of rupees yearly on account of their craving for drinking, what else is it, if not a non-Indian party? Is it not a non-Indian party which, unable to oppose the foreign Government that is ruining the country in every way, has counselled the Government not to allow into the Council such brave men as Messrs,. Sambamurti and Yakub Hasan who, like lions, are able to make the Government tremble?

For the week ending 16th October, 1926.

The Justice party.

36. The Swarajya (Tel) writes:-- The Brahmans as well as the non-Brahmans who serve their own ends and thereby perpetuate British rule here and defeat the movement for independence, form the Justice party. Many instances may be quoted to prove this. The Justice party is neither a Brahman party nor a non-Brahman party. It is clearly an anti-Indian party. It has been formed for surrendering the whole country to the foreign rulers, who have given some appointments to its members, and not for uplifting the non-Brahmans.

For the week ending 23rd October, 1926.

The Justice party.

31. Writing on the electioneering propaganda carried on in the Madras Presidency, the Chittranjan remarks incidentally that the policy pursued by the Justice party in making nominations to local boards, municipalities, ect., and the demonical acts of which they are the authors, are worse than those of the 'white teethless demon'.

32. The Chittrangan says:-- Many an educated non-Brahman is determined to destroy the Brahman dharma, instead of protecting it. As a result of the present friction between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, the Brahman community may be regenerated. But it is not right to abuse the whole community as at present. The follies found in a community are mainly due to the indifference of the rulers vested with the power to safeguard righteousness. This duty of safeguarding righteousness rests primarily with the rulers, and secondarily with the community. But the present day rulers have swallowed both the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans. They have not protected the one and eaten up the other. The four castes are no better than living corpses under their administration. Manliness, wisdom and fame are absent equally among all the four castes now.

The abuse of the Brahmans.

<u>For the week ending 30th October, 1926.</u>

33. The Andhra Patrika writes:-- The Justicites are having a number of Techinical gains. In Chingleput, it appears the house-name of the Justice party candidate Mr.C.Muthuayya Mudaliyar, was written wrongly in the nomination list to the Legislative Council elections. Though the Returning officer gave an opportunity to Mr.Mudaliyar for rectifying the mistake, he never went that day. The following day, the Collector sent for him and got the necessary rectification made. But, when Mr-Lakshmana Chettiyar, the Congress candidate, competed in the Royapetta elections, even though the mistake was that of the Government, his rights were violated on technical grounds. Though the High Court

How the Justicites are gaining.

wished that fresh elections should be held, so such arrangements are yet made. In both these matters the Justicites alone secured gain. In the first case, even though the mistake was with the Justicite, it was rectified. In the second case, even though there was no mistake on the part of the congress candidate, his right was violated. One can easily see the difference between the two.

<u>For the week ending 6th November, 1926.</u>

The Justice party.

27. The Chittaranjan writes:-- The Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal, leader of the Justice party, would say for all outward purposes that the Brahman should be trampled under foot, but in his heart of hearts, this great personage is so greedy that he wishes to be lorded over all, and that all others should occupy a position subordinate to his, and that he alone should hold the appointment of Minister whose duty is no better than to carry the shoes of the dorais so as to merit the title of Raja without a country to rule. The Justice party has lent its helping hand to the system of the British bureaucratic rule, which has become permanently established in our country and which, having struck deep root, grew into a big tree, affording shelter to demons and devils, obstructed the popular non-co-operation movement, perpetuated the bureaucracy, and thus brought the noose to the necks of themselves and their brother non-Brahmans. Infatuated by a feeling of ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ communalism or by the prospect of temporary gain if the voters return to the Councils these Justicites this time also, will the Government come down to grant us even an iota of swaraj in 1929 when further reforms are to be granted?

These sham reforms will continue to exist, and the country will not go forward even by an inch so long as the Justice party remains a pro-government party. Do the Justicites after all know anything of the political policy of the British nation? If they really know, will they even help them? Will the British rulers willingly give up India which is a market for their goods? If they do so, can they live in the world as they do now? Will not England without India be a hillock of stones? Will the British, who are aware of this, take away their foot by which they press down India's head, neck and heart, unless we bring pressure to bear upon them, obstruct them, become unitedly determined to swallow even fire, suffocate them by dead-locks, take a vow to encourage swadesism, to wear khaddar and to boycott foreign goods so that we may destroy all foreign trade, and resort to the use of such mighty weapons as civil disobedience and the withholding of taxes? When such a great fight has to be fought, the justice party are increasing all sorts of communal jealousies, and actuated mainly by self-interest, are trampling under foot on community after another, with a view to gain some unknown profit for themselves. Can the country be ever emancipated under such circumstances? So long as they tread such wrong paths thinking that the people are so many goats and cannot know what they are actually doing, can we be rid of the present poverty, slave mentality, dependence on foreign goods, and political bondage now obtaining in the country? Why, all this unnecessary prattle, and why, these attempts at self-destruction, quarrels among brothers, treachery towards the mother and union with enemies? Should they not become wise at least now? O, voters! Certainly you are the non-Brahmans forming a majority of the population of the country. The present poverty in the country is yours. Yours again are insanitation, slavery and short life. If swaraj comes to-morrow, it is you that will enjoy it. It was

40b

your ancestors that rules countries in times of yore and lost them. You, who enjoyed every comfort in the past, are now bound by the shackles of the unbearable poverty and slavery of to-day. It is you that will enjoy happiness when swaraj is established to-morrow. Know this great secret, open you eyes, realize which institution is encouraging its representatives even to sacrifice their all in order to end this bondage and poverty and snap the fetters of servitude, stand by that institution, the Congress, and become the makers of your own prosperity!

For the week ending 13th November, 1926.

The Justice party Ministers.

22. The Al.Ameen says that people should know that many recent acquisitions have added to the notoriety of the Justice party Ministers for their indifference in matters conducive to the welfare of the people. The order lately issued by Sir A.P.Patro may be said to be the coping stone of the excise policy. It is stated in that order that it is impossible to put down drink altogether and difficult to make better arrangements than obtain at present in the matter. What does this mean except that the Justice party is unwilling to comply with the wishes of the people? If the present Ministers want to let the ignorant people, who are steeped in ignorance and poverty, die of drink and to utilize the revenue for their own purposes, this much may be said that people who have the least intelligence and patriotism will only wish to non-co-operate with them. This Minister who has acted in forgetfulness of the welfare of the people in excise matters has induced the University to increase the fees of students. Further the University has

407

given two months' pay or Rs.5,000 to Dr.Macphail because the education Minister was in favour of it. Another acquisition to the credit of the party is in the Development Department. An order has been issued by the Development Minister that industrial institutions will mot be maintained in future and people will not be given training. Hereafter, institutions like the soap factory of Malabar which resulted in the spread of soap industry everywhere will not be started- The order also says that Government have not been successful in such enterprises and that hereafter cottage industries will be p promoted in rural parts. The paper asks what industrial enterprises have been helped by Government till now, and whether Government would approve of the starting of industries that would prevent the money of this country from going to foreign countries. It remains to be seen what the Justice party Ministers are going to do in the matter of cottage industries. It is well known that they are against spinning and weaving khaddar which would afford occupation to agriculturists during the off season and prevent money from being carried beyond the seas by crore. It seems they are going to investigate the possibilities of developing cottage industries. Perhaps they will appoint a highly paid official for that also. In this way they have spent the last six years. What good have they done to the people? None.

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For the week ending 4th December, 1926.

The defeat of the Justice party.

25. Swarajya (Tel) says:-- The elections are over. The fire of communal tension which had been for the past six years agitating the country, has been extinguished. It has been made clear through the test of

these elections that the creed of the Justice party, who selfishly ignoring the well-being of the country not only pursued wrong paths but also endeavoured to mislead all the people, did not really attract the hearts of the people, and that their hearts are sound. Before the noble service of the mother country, the base mania for power and the artificial communal prejudices have been shattered. May the British statesmen like Lord Birkenhead and Mr.Baldwin realise from the results of these elections that the people do not desire slavery under a foreign Government but that they are strongly desirous of looking after the affairs of their country themselves and of becoming themselves masters in their country! The victory gained by the Congress is not really a victory, for whom have we defeated at least? It is only our brethren, the sons of the same mother country. Thaxxixtaxx None should lose sight of this fact. This was not the object of the congress. The congress entered into this agitation for swaraj in order to get back to the people their natural birthright of independence from the foreign rulers who robbed the country of her honour, wealth, and freedom, and made us always bow to their feet. The ultimate goal of the congress is therefore to obtain swaraj from foreign rulers and not do defeat the Justice party who are but our own countrymen. Perhaps, out of self-interest or ignorance, the Justicites who are our own countrymen could not know the real situation in the country and stood between the people and the foreign rulers as a barrier. The Congress had unavoidably to rise against this barrier of the Justice party who are our own countrymen, since they stood by the Government. The victory achieved by the congress is not therefore a victory at all. The fight proper is really in the future. That has to be fought against the foreign Government. We have now removed only the obstruction which had all along been protecting the

Government against the blow of popular force dealt in such a fight, directly hitting them. The people and the leaders have now to decide conjointly how they are to consolidate the popular force and attack the government direct therewith. This is just the work to be taken in hand. The co-operation and resources of all the people in India from the young to the old are required in this great endeavour. It is only in view of this that Mr.Srinivasa Ayyangar, the Congress leader, in a speech of his, requested all those who professed to be Justicites to come and join the Congress.

While the extremist papers condemn the Justice party and express jubilation at the victory of the congress party, the Mitavadi writes:-- For the last six years, Madras politics have been full of the Justice party and its doings. Its record of work is one-- let us point this out in its hour of defeat of which every democrat in Madras has reason to be proud. The raja of Panagal has shown, in his management of the party, parliamentary talents of a high order, and as an Indian Minister in charge of important Transferred departments he always stood for the rights of Indians in a manner which deeply offended Anglo-India. It further dilates on the great difficulties the Justice Ministry had to encounter from the system of diarchy, from European vested interests, from the limited resources placed at their disposal, from the discontented elements in the party and from open enemies of the party and their press. It attributes the defeat of the party to their neglect to consolidate their position and to educate the electorate.

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33. The Kudi Arasu publishes a report of a speech

delivered by Mr.E.V. Ramaswami Nayakar at a public meeting recently held in Coimbatore to celebrate the success of the Raja of Panagal in the recent elections, in which the following observations find place among others:-- I heard that several among those holding high offices such as High Court Judges, District Judges, Sub-Judges, District Collectors and Executive Councillors, several among the Police executive officials and several the big money lenders joined together and made herculean efforts to secure the votes of zamindars for Mr.Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar. I heard, again that attempts were made to secure votes by intimidating some zamindars in regard to pending litigation and loans due by them and also by alluring words. Whether these are true or false, will the people rejoice or not on hearing that the Raja has come out successful in spite of these obstacles? Apart from what can be achieved by means of the Legislative Council, I am strongly of opinion that the system of election to the Council is demoralising our country. The grant of representation through such elections will be like getting rid of drink through the Excise Department. Instead of there being one member for three districts with 300 voters in all, as was the case before, there are now three members for every district, the number of voters being 70,000 for each district. As a result of this, it has become possible for persons who can delude others and spend money, to become representatives in the Legislative Council. The condition of the voters has become so low that they will give their votes to any one for two annas and that it is possible to get 20 or 30 votes for one pot of toddy. The system of electing members to this council has not only brought about deterioration in the character of the candidates and voters, but has also been instrumental in promoting dishonesty among the people. You can very well imagine how much more fraud, intrigue and dishonesty will be

Mr.E.V.Ramaswami Nayakar's speech.

in evidence in the country if, in the next instalment of reforms to be secured by the congress or the swarajists, all persons able the age of 20 are to get franchise and be eligible to stand as candidates. No one should think that, by saying this, I mean that the people do not want freedom. If rights which demoralise the people go on increasing, what is to be their condition? If real freedom were to come through the elections, would be Brahmans, who are opposed to our securing freedom, have demanded freedom from the Government? Even if they had done so, would the Europeans, who are their partners, have granted it? You would do well to consider this point deeply. If a Government which has ruled over us for 150 years says that we should ask for what we want through a Legislative Council, what does it show except unwillingness to concede our demand? If the Government and the Brahmans really wish to do anything, can they not do so without the legislature? In what else do the elections result than in our people being caught unawares in the machinations promoted jointly by the Government and the Brahmans to create unnecessary divisions among our people, train them in dishonourable ways and live by deceiving them, and being ruined thereby unable to extricate themselves? I reiterate my view that, in the present circumstances, it will be highly injurious to our country to allow such a system of election to thrive. Again, distinction is made between educated and uneducated persons in regard to electoral qualificatinns. What difference is there in our country between educated persons and uneducated persons? If an uneducated person commits an offence, the educated persons make it possible for the former to escape punishment for his offence and thereby instigates him to commit the same offence again. Iff such education is called education and is respected in a country, can that country improve in morality? Hence I am of opinion that the qualifications now

prescribed for electors and the system of election now in vogue are not suitable for the proper representation of the several interests in the country. Those who are working for the welfare of the country have no work in the legislature. The membership of a legislative council confers only a status like a title or an office under the Government. Money has to be spent on Government servants and executive officials for securing office and titles. For becoming a member of a legislature, money has to be spent on propagandists, brokers and voters. This is all the difference between the two and it is not very ~~great.~~ great.

For the week ending 18th December, 1926.

The Brahman politicians.

24. Remarking that God appears to have failed to endow the Brahmans, who had come out of His face, with mercy, the Tamil Nadu observed:--The Brahmans have been and are making it impossible for the non-Brahmans to progress. We expected that the Brahmans would learn wisdom at least after seeing the new spirit of liberty which has arisen in the country; but we have been disappointed. The Brahman politicians captured the Swarajya party with the ostensible object of puting down the Justice party and the secret intention of crushing the non-Brahmans. When the meanness of the conduct of the Brahmans who came out successful in the recent elections in Madras, is considered, the fear arises that, if perchance swaraj should be attained in the present condition of the country, the Brahmans may roast the non-Brahmans in fire. No patriot is sorry for the defeat of the Justice party. But we are troubled only about the success secured by the Brahmans. It is destable that, instead of conducting

themselves honourably after the elections, the Brahman party should be speaking of the vanquished in sneering and vulgar terms on the platform and in the press. They belabour the non-Brahmans with the aid of hirelings. They insulted Mr.Dandapani Pillai. The Tamil Brahmans and the Telugu Brahmans joined together in the Andhra desa to disgrace Dr.P.Varadarajulu Nayudu, who had gone there to preside over the Social Conference. If the Brahmans think arrogantly that those who attack them cannot live in this country, it will be the primary duty of the Tamils to destroy Brahmanism. If Brahmanism carries on an intrigue to insult or harass the non-Brahmans, let it realize that the Brahmans too will get their deserts. Death is certain whether at six or at hundred. The gallows and the jail are not of great moment to those who have a keen sense of honour. Tamils, Arise. The Tamil Nadu writes:-- If the swarajusts were really patriotic, they ought to have accepted Ministership in view of the present political situation or they should have prevented the formation of a Ministry in Madras as was done in the Central Provinces and Bengal. But a swarajist Brahman and patriotism are poles apart. They know that the Brahmans cannot attack the non-Brahmans directly. They have created three new Ministers. Just as Ravana was destroyed with the help of Vibhishana, they have made three persons, who are hostile to the congress, and have neither principles nor a political programme Ministers. All the Brahmans interviewed the Governor. The Swarajya party supported the Ministers. The Tamils should realize whether this is patriotism. The non-Brahman movement cannot be destroyed with the help of these three Ministers. The Ministry is bound to die. So long as there is Brahmanism, the non-Brahman movement also will exist. There is no room in this country for a Brahman who does not recognize equality. The Brahmans are arguing boastfully from the defeat of the Justice

party, that they have destroyed the non-Brahman movement. There has been a Brahman-non-Brahman struggle in this country ever since Vasishta, a Brahman ascetic, insulted the great viswamitra. The Brahmans are dreaming that, just as the Lord destroyed Buddha and his tenets, they can do so even at the present time. But it is bound to prove illusive. No Tamilian with manliness can tolerate Brahman tyranny hereafter. If pure nationalism should be fostered, the domination of the Brahmans should be destroyed. Cruel indeed is the Brahman domination and more cruel is the Ayyanger Tyranny!

For the week ending 25th December, 1926.

26. The Navayuga writes:-- The reverses of the Justice party in the recent elections appear to be warmly welcomed in some quarters. We are unable to endorse the view that the work of this party was either useless or contemptible. We do not wonder at the temptation to trample over a fallen foe. But we must remember that the Justice Ministry did its level best to make the reforms of 1919 a success. It introduced many new legislative measures. It pressed for provincial autonomy as well as for the Indianization of the public services. It provided for increased educational progress and more extended medical relief. It established the Andhra University and the Indian school of medicine. The Endowments Act of the Raja of Panagal is praised by no less a person than Mr.Justice Sadashiva Ayyar, although we must admit that there are people who hold that even this measure is a source of peril to the country. Although the Justice party has disappeared for the time being, there

The Justice party and the Madras Ministry.

is nothing to warrant the conclusion that the non-Brahman movement has served no useful purpose. The plea that the non-Brahmans who form the majority of the people should hold more important places in the public life of the country has met with abundant success. Since the non-Brahmans form the majority among the Swarajusts as well as among the Independents, there can be no doubt that whichever party comes into power, the non-Brahmans are bound to hold an important place in it.

The Brahmans.

34. Remarking that the blood of every true non-Brahman will boil when he hears of the alleged conduct of certain Brahmans in having caused one Pakkiriswami Pillai, a non-Brahman youth, to be soundly belaboured on the beach by rowdies and in having harassed Mr.Dandapani Pillai, when he attended the Tamil Nadu Provincial conference recently, the Kudi Arasu observes:--Every one will admit that, as a result of the arrogance of the Brahmans in the Tamil land monopolising influential positions in the High Court, Executive Council and other places, the action of some wretches among the non-Brahmans in serving the Brahmans subserviently without any self-respect, the conduct of some well-to-do young men, who are zamindars and mirasidars and are dovoid of feeling, in coming completely under the influence of the Brahmans, and the artful propaganda carried on by Brahmans in such a way that the masses cannot understand the truth, a situation has arisen wherein it is possible for the Brahmans to say that they have achieved a victory in the recent elections. We are witnessing the spectacle of these Brahmans acting wildly, inebriated by this victory. The arrogance of the Brahmans will become patent to those who consider the highhanded acts committed by them during the past one month. There is no limit

to the mischief played by some as councillors in the Madras Corporation. The conduct of the Brahmans in publishing false and distorted versions of events in newspapers, so that the people may believe them, and enlisting the services of hooligans, hirelings and muddy-headed persons in the name of the congress for reviling the non-Brahman leaders and volunteers and beating them, is becoming intolerable. So, it is hoped that every non-Brahman will realize that there is nothing more dishonourable and derogatory to one's self-respect than to eke out one's livelihood by being subservient to the Brahmans.

417

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

NEWSPAPER REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1929.

For the week ending 5th January.

The Brahman Conference.

25. Referring to the conference of the Brahmans that was held recently at Kumbakonam, the Dravidan observes:--If the Government of India were in our hands, we would have at once clapped in prison the President of this Conference and those who participated in it, inasmuch as the participators therein are vile varnashramites who wish for the Brahman Raj in India. If the British Government are acting fairly, they should at once punish those that hold such conferences. It is only the participators in this conference which recognizes birth caste and sex ditinctions, and demands that the Government should not interfere with the Brahmans and their religion that excite class and religious hatred. Therefore, the Government can punish them under section 153-A. We wish to know whether the Government will or will not do so. If they do not wish to do so, we request them to leave the matter into our hands. Whoever says that birth confers distinctions and whoever convenes conferences to establish such distinctions are great traitors to the country and the people. It is the duty of the Government to get rid of such traitors from the Country. Unless these orthodox people are got rid of ~~such traitors~~ our country and our community cannot make any progress. So our non-Brahman youths should work with increased vigour in the matter of getting rid of these orthodox people. We wish to sound a note of warning to the Government as well as to the orthodox people that we too are going to work in this direction.

Raxxkhe

For the week ending 30th March, 1929.

36. In le a leading article under this caption, the Chitragupta congratulates the leaders of the Justice party and proceeds to observe as under

The Justice party and the Brahmans.

We for our part, do not agree with the view that it is improper on the part of the Brahmans to become members of the Justice party merely because that party is trying to secure a few Government jobs to some of its members. All institutions, whether communal, religious or political, take their birth for the well-being of the country in general and it is but right that they should work with that ideal in view. But even if any party works with a limited vision, it is the duty of others to join it and set it on the right path. The Lokahitaishi in an English article writes:-- The party is now considering, we are told, the admission into its ranks of Brahmans, provided they subscribe to its political principles. Looked at from such a view, it is but natural for Brahmans to expect that the fact of their birth will not be a crime in the eyes of the party and that principles of public life, other than those of caste, will obtain predominance. It is fatuous in the extreme to continue talking of 98 per cents when the fate of the whole of India hangs on the single issue whether we Indians can at all unite together in the face of a common enemy".

For the week ending 8th June, 1929.

33. Criticizing the conduct of the Justice party in having always served the interests of the Hindus, since its formation

The Madras Justice party and the Muhammadans.

419

in Madras, the Qoumi Report writes to the following effect:-- The Justice party has hitherto never complied with any of the unanimous demands of the Muhammadans. It is regrettable that even the late Raja of Panagal, a strong leader of the party, did not appoint any Muhammadan to any high post during his tenure of office but filled up all posts in various civil and judicial departments with Hindus exclusively. As no Urdu journal is advocating the rights and representing the views of the Muhammadans, we undertake to do so and shall be writing articles on the party's wrong policy which is to be always partial to the Hindus.

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For the week ending 29th June, 1929.

Animal sacrifice by Brahmans.

27. Referring to a yaga said to be performed at Conjeeveram, the Dravidan writes:-- The Brahmans have been eating the flesh of cattle and other animals in accordance with their traditional practice. Though several Brahmans have not yet given up this practice, it is a well-known fact that the orthodox Brahmans such as Pandits, Sastris and others who call themselves non-flesh-eaters, being unable to overcome their craze for drink and flesh, perform yagas and consequently eat any flesh they like. In the name of the Vedas, goates and cows can be killed. Soma juice can be drunk and sexual intercourse can be had with widows. So, the Brahmans are committing murder and adultery and are given to drinking. They are doing these in the name of the Vedas and in consequence of their Brahmanical arrogance. The

Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals apprehends those that treat any animals cruelly and gets them punished by a Magistrate. These murderous Brahmans crush the testicles of goats while performing yaga and, when they are halfdead, cut open their bellies and take out the flesh, which they then roast in the sacrificial fire and eat. Alas! How are we to characterize the act of crushing the testicles? These Brahmans are indeed great sinners and are totally devoid of mercy. This Government punished recently a bird-catcher, who for the sake of earning a livelihood ~~stitched~~ stitched the eye-lids of a bird for catching other birds. We hear that only yesterday a Muslim was fined Rs.50 in Bengal for exporting birds confined in small cages. Why should not the Government punish these Brahmans murderers who torture goats and other animals in all manner of ways?

For the week ending 24th August, ~~22th June~~, 1929.

~~Brahmans have been monopolising all~~

The Public Services Commission and the Brahmans.

28. The Dravidan observes:-- Since, as far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, the Brahmans have been monopolising all appointments hereditarily, we have been saying for several years that there should be some principle governing the conferring of appointments on persons, that all classes of people should have a share in the appointments and that a Public Services Commission should be constituted for this purpose. Soon after the non-Brahman party came into existence, even the Brahmans raised an outcry that the non-Brahmans and that a Public Services commission should therefore be

constituted for making appoinqments with reference to the qualifications of candidates. The Government have, in response to the demand made by both the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, brought forward a Public Services Commission Bill. When steps for bringing the Commission into existence have xatx actually been taken, the Brahmans have become frightened; for if the power of making appointments is entrustedtoxthe to the Commission, the Brahmans who are in office can no longer confere appointments on their kith and kin. That is why the Brahmans, who at fisrst demanded the constitution of such a Commission, now say that they do not want it and offer several lame excuses in connection therewith. This causes no surprise to us who are aware of their machinations and nationalism. A public services commission is going to be appointed now and it has a very responsible duty to discharge. It should frame rules for making appointments on a communal basis and act according to the same. It would be enough if it xx acts in accordance with the communal order which was recently passed by the Madras Government.

For the week ending 7th September, 1929.

45. Remarking that there is Brahman domination in all the Indian States in South India, the Dravidan observes:-- The wretched Code of Manu is still commanding secret influence in the Indian states even at the present time when there are the British Government and the Indian Penal Code in India. The Travancore State, which is one of the Indian States in South India, has been famous for its Brahman domination even from the ancient times. As the orthodox Brahmans went on gaining influence in the palace in the name of religion,

The Travancore State.

their descendants began to gain influence in the administration also. Hence, it is only the Brahmans that are now predominant in this State in all the posts from that of the Diwan to that of a peon. The whole of the Education Department is only a Brahman agraharam. Though there are a large number of persons in the Nayar and Christian communities who have received higher education and though several of them have applied for posts in this department, it is only the recruitment of a large number of Brahmans in the department that is very much in evidence even now. The number of the Brahmans employed in other departments too is not small. We very much regret to have to say that, ever since Her Highness the Maharani Setu Lakshmi Bai Became the Regent, the Brahman domination in Travencore has begun to gain additional strength. Though Her Highness the Maharani is a well-intentioned lady, it appears that her godd name may be spoiled by the mischief played by her husband Mr.Rama Varma Koil Tambiran. Is not the world aware of the fact that a Brahman official, who was a non.entity during the time. Mr. Raghavayya was the Diwan, secured a post in the Huzur Secretariat, after Mr.Rama Varma became influential? What are the special qualifications of Mr. V.S.Subrahmanya Ayyar which entitle him to be appointed as Diwan? If a person, who does not possess the least administrative experience, is to be appointed Diwan all of a sudden, he must have some special qualifications. What are those qualifications? If the Maharani wanted to appoint only a native as the several experts in British Service, who are the natives of Travancore.

For the week ending 14th September, 1929.

423

For the week ending 14th September, 1929.

The Government Justice party.

27. The Kalinga writes:-- The Justice party does not still hesitate to join hands with the Government in the matter of repression. The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M.Krishnan Nayar has been acting strangely since he occupied the office of the Law Member. Messrs. Sambamurti, Annapurniah and other nationalists have been imprisoned during his regime. We may say that we have no other go than to submit to the authority of the Civilians as regards repression. We are at a loss to understand how this Justice party is able to put up with the unrighteousness of its friends who assume as obstinate attitude without affording special facilities to political prisoners. Destroying the machinery of the Government alone constitutes the work of the congress. Does not the Justice party know at heart that the Congress does not try to incite violence and communal hatred? We are not able to know how this Justice party nods its assent while Congressmen who have confidence in such non-violent methods are being punished in this cruel manner. Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar, who is a leader of this party and who as an ordinary M.L.C., used to plead the cause of Mr.Menon of Malabar has strangely given up all that, as soon as he assumed the office of the Law Member Mr.Menon is still rotting in jail. Is this the purpose that these offices serve? The Indian slave stoops to anything in his passion for power. What a shame!

~~For~~ For the week ending 26th October, 1929.

The Non-Brahman Conference at Nellore.

28. Referring to the election of Mr. B.Muniswami Nayudu ~~The Non-Brah~~ as the Justice party leader by the Non-Brahman Conference at Nellore, the Congress observes:--Though there may be differences of opinion as regards the method of the political fight, we wish that Mr.B.Muniswami Nayudu will take due precautions to see that though his party may not join hands (with the nationalists) in the coming war of independence, it does not at least lend support to the Government as before and arrest the national struggle. We desire that he may extensively propagate his theories which can purify the political atmosphere in the province and effect a change of mentality in his party men.)

For the week ending 2nd November, 1929.

The Non-Brahman Conference at Nellore.

15. The Kistna Patrika writes:-- The South Indian Liberal Federation Conference which was held at Nellore last week deserves commendation in every respect. (It is true that the resolution refusing the Brahmans admission into the Federation has caused disappointment to some. But a little consideration will show that the refusal of admission to Brahmans at present is safe to the Brahmans as well as to the non-Brahmans. This ban will help on the uplift of not only the non-Brahmans but also of the Brahmans. For whatever reason it may be, the Brahmans community has fallen to the wretched plight of depending upom the gulamkhanas (house of slavery) of the Government for livelihood. Government service alone has come to be regarded as the characterstic feature of

manliness among the Brahmans. Money-making capacity is being looked upon as an index to the value of one's learning. This high caste occupies the foremost place in tightening the fetters of slavery to-foreigners and in selling the country. How long is this dependence, this selling of one's own soul and the destruction of one's own dharma to continue? If the educated Brahmans keep aloof from these offices at least as a result of the opposition from the Justice party, what else is required? The sooner the municipalities, the district and taluk boards, the legislatures, the ministries and other departments are rid of the Brahmans, the sooner will the country secure swaraj. One of the results of such an event will be the creation of a feeling of self confidence among the non-Brahmans that they too can discharge the duties of high offices. The second result will be that the intellectual capacity of the Brahman will be afforded an opportunity of being utilized for the service of the country and for the progress of knowledge instead of for the promotion of our slavery. Even if the limited number of educated non-Brahmans enter Government services it affects that community very little and the whole community will not be thereby absorbed in the Government.

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

NEWSPAPER REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1930.

For the week ending 15th March, 1930.

The All-India non-Brahman Conference.

16. Referring to the All-India Non-Brahman Conference recently held at Bombay under the presidentship of Sir A.P.Patro, the Telagasanghabhivardhini observes that the congress is going to involve the country in colossal peril by their resolution on complete independence and exhorts the non-Brahman community to counteract the Congress propaganda as advised by Sir A.P.Patro.

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THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

NEWSPAPER REPORT FOR THE MEAR, 1931.

For the week ending 16th May, 1931.

Communal representation in Government service.

42. The Dravidan observes:--The Justice party is fighting for the representation of the non-Brahmans in Government service. We understand that the claims of the non-Brahmans in the matter are being frequently rejected now. The Government and the Ministers should pay great attention to this matter. The Brahman papers and the Brahman leaders are, whenever an apportunity arises, opposing both expressly and otherwise the principle of conferring appointments equally on all communities. Some of the British too are doing likewise. They cannot understand the condition of our country well and the majority of them are deluded by the words of the Brahmans. The principle that only one community should not be holding all the responsible posts is obtaining in every country and no one can refute it. We would like to sound a note of warning that the Government of Madras should not be bewildered by the pseudo agitation raised by these people.

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THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

REPORT OF NEWSPAPER FOR THE YEAR, 1932.

For the month of October, 1932:

The Justice party.

36. The Swadesabhimani writes:-- Although the Justice party was organized ostensibly with the object of securing justice to the backward communities, there is a move at present to get the party placed under the leadership of the zamindars. If the institution is to be used for selfish ends, where is the necessity for the party at all and why abuse the term "Justice" in that manner.

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e 429

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

NEWSPAPER REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1935.

For the ~~week~~ month ending January, 1935.

33. Describing how the term "Tammany Hall" has come to mean corruption in common parlance, the Dhinamani compares the Justice party in Madras to this institution and observes:-- Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar is one of the founders of the Justice Party and yet the Kumara Raja of Chettinad was nominated as a Councillor of the Corporation of Madras within eleven days of his resignation so as to enbale the party to nominate him as the Mayor. The Raja of Bobbili admits that he went out of his way in making this nomination, but says that he did so in the interest of the Party, So, the interests of the Party mean the securing of jobs by a few in it. It is for the public and the Governor to consider whether the Local Self-Government Department itself exists only for this group of job-hunters and whether it is administered only for their benefit. Is it not sheer dishonesty on the part of the Justice Party to profess to be a political party striving for the progress of the public? This Party is not only a job-hunting party, but is also a big Tammany Hall in this presidency. There will be no moral or responsibility in public life as long as this Tammany Hall exists. If the presidency is to prosper, this should go.

The Justice party.

34. The Jaya Bharati writes:-- We understand that, at a big meeting held at Madura, a resolution was passed requesting the Governor to dissolve the Ministry and to hold fresh elections to the Legislative Council. What is the duty of the Governor at this juncture? It is not proper that the

The Justice Ministry.

Justice Party, which has lost the entire confidence of the public, should still be in power in our province. The voters in our province have demonstrated at the last election which party they support. It is only after realizing that it will not secure the least public support that the Justice Party has not put up any candidates for the by-elections to the Legislative Council. It is the duty of the Governor to consider these points carefully, come to the conclusion that the Ministry does not enjoy the support of the public, dissolve the Legislative Council and hold a fresh election.

For the month of March, 1935.

The Justice party Programme.

27. The Madras Mail writes:--"It is satisfactory to see that the Justice Party, heartened by the result of the recent confidence motion in the Legislatice Council, is using its big guns to further the chances of the party's candidate for the City seat in the current by-election. But we are not quite sure that the arguments employed at yesterday's meeting at the Victoria Public Hall were as helpful to the candidate as they were meant to be. Sir A.P.Patro maintained that it was clear that there could only be two parties, the Constitutionalist party and the Congress. The Raja of Bobbili said that the Justice Party was the constitutional party which stood for acceptance of office and made no vote-catching promises. But the business of the evening was to catch votes, and unless votes are captured, it is useless to show an amenable disposition towards the acceptance of office. The party must fight and constitutionalism per se is not a very attracitve

election cry, unless the opposing party has shown by its behaviour in office that it is unconstitutional. This has not so far happened in Madras, so that the kxx electorate has had no opportunity of appreciating the full, dire effects of unconstitutionalism. What the Justice Party needs to remember is its full title. and so he reminded that it is liberal party. It must adduce both performance and promises if it is to achieve popular success. That, indeed, seems to be appreciated by the Raja of Bobbili, for he yesterday outlined a most ambitious programme, including universal primary education within ten years. This is a bold bid for popular support. It was perhaps wise of his to refrain from an explanation of where the money was to be found for this and the other scheme of a protected village water-supply--another admirable object--in view of the fact that his party was also said to be anxious to deprive the Government of a large share of its principal source of revenue.

The Justice ~~party~~ Ministry.

35. The Jaya Bharati publishes a communication from the pen of a correspondent who remarks that the Hon'ble the Raja of Bobbili had in his reply to a question asked in the Legislative Council totally denied the statement said to have been made by him at a party meeting held to remove the Kumara Raja Muthiah Chettiyar from his position as the whip of the Justice Party, that he asked Mr.Chettiyar to resign his seat in the Corporation of Madras and renominated him to the corporation so as to enable him to secure the mayoralty once again and observes:-- The Raja is of course a lover of power and an inveterate enemy of

432

democracy. Though he has a knack of creating splits in a place, he has now demonstrated that he has also the capacity of hiding an eel in a sack. If the reply given by the Raja in the Legislative Council had been given by a man in the street, he would be reviled as having uttered a lie. Now, Bobbili would be described as having resorted to a strategem. What will not be done by one who acts like this unhesitatingly? It is indeed the misfortune of this Presidency that it is suffering at the hands of a person like the Raja of Bobbili. The Sutandira Sangu characterizes the Raja as a disease afflicting public life in this Presidencey to-day and remarks:--If the Bobbili regime should continue for some time longer, it is only anarchy that will prevail here. If the people of this Presidency have manliness, human instincts and a faith in the purity of public life, they should join together, whatever party they may belong to, and get rid of the domination of the Raja of Bobbili. All the charges levelled against him by Mr.Tevar of Trichinopoly in the Legislative Council are true. Commissioners have been appointed to municipalities only for the purpose of gathering strength for his rule and district boards are bifurcated only ~~forxthexp~~ with this end in view. The Raja threatens that he will have an eye on those who utilize their position in municipalities for their own ends. The public know full well who it is that exploits local bodies for gaining party strenghth. If Bobbili thinks that this Presidency will always be in his hands , he is sure to be deceived. Referring to this subject, the same paper complains that the Hon'ble the Raja of Bobbili has been misusing all his powers for gathering party strength and remarks that the Local Boards Act has been recently amended, taluk boards have been abolished, a district board has been bifurcated and attempts are made to bifurcate other boards which are

hostile to him only to increase his party strength and that it is only in the interests of the party that he is superseding municipalities, which do not bow to his authority, removing chairmen not like by him and trying to forfeit the liberty of these bodies by the appointment of commissioners. The Tamil Nadu, however, asserts that the Raja is the first to hold the post of Minister in Madras, having no eye upon salary, and adds:-- He is conducting himself equitably in the administration, unmindful of the fact of one being favourable to or antagonistic to the party. Every one is aware of his having appointed commissioners to municipalities and done many such things xxx as are conducive to sound administration. Though we know that this had increased the number of his enemies, we are of opinion that the steps taken by him are indeed beneficial to the people. It is certain that the Raja of Bobbili will have the credit of having stood by his principle and actions steadfastly, even at the risk of losing his leadership and ministership. The Matura Mitran writes:-- We have often pointed out that the end of the Bobbili rule is approaching. This situation seems to be only getting worse day by day. The embitterment caused by the Raja of Bobbili having interfered with the rights of local bodies as he liked, removed the chairman of certain municipalities whom he did not like and superseded altogether some other municipalities and converted municipal councils into boxing rings by appointing commissioners thereto who cast to the winds the priveleges of such council is only expediting the end of his rule. Adverting to the reply of the second Minister in Madras to a question in the Legislative Council about the attitude of the Ministry regarding the secret circular issued by the Government of India in connection with the development of rural industries, that they agree with the Government ofxIndiaxxin the Sutandira

Sangu observes:-- It has become usual for the Ministers in Madras to be always making obeisance to the heads of the Reserved departments. They have not the least courage that the representatives of the people should have. Though village industries are in charge of the Second Minister, he has not done anything. There is nothing surprising in those, who have come from foreign countries and are disinclined to give up their influence, suspecting our activities. But, what are we to say of those, who have been born and bred up in Indian soil and who will end their life in this soil, suspecting their own brethren, watching their movements like spies and agreeing to betray them to foreigners? We should realize that it is a great mistake to live, relying on Ministers who exist as slaves wearing golden fetters. Referring to the party candidates put up by the Hon'ble the Raja of Bobbili for contesting the by-election in the City and for Chittoor and Anantapur groups, the Sutandira Sangu remarks that, though he may try to go from place to place and throw obstacles in the way of the Congress and adds:-- Bobbili may prevent the Congress candidates getting into the Council for a month. What can he do afterwards? There is no doubt that the end of Bobbili rule is near at hand. His political policy is breaking the back of the country. His administration is promoting confusion and political faction everywhere. It is the duty of all participate in the work of getting rid of this anarchy, Remarking that the main policy of the Justice Ministry has been to support the Government, without evincing any anxiety about the people, the Dhinamani instances it by want of interest on its party in prohibiting the import of foreign rice and safeguarding the fundamental rights of the people and observes:-- It exists only by the favour of the Government. If a general election had been held last December,

it would have gone to the wall. It continues to exist only because His Excellency the Governor has not dissolved the Legislative Council, even after noting the result of the two by-elections recently held. A Ministry, which admitted its having gone out of the way for the sake of the party, which is not able to reduce the taxes and thereby relieve the distress of the ryots and which expresses its inability to bring about complete prohibition of drink should not be allowed to continue in power even for a minute longer.

The Andhra Patrika condemns the Ministry and regretting the failure of the motion, it remarks that the failure clearly demonstrates the absence of sound party-organization. It holds that the Assembly elections have sufficiently proved that the Justice Party has become a back number and commands little influence in the country, and that therefore the Justice Ministry has no claim to popular confidence and consequently no right to continue in office. Those who voted against the motion, it observes, do not reflect the opinion of their constituencies and it suggests that they should resign and seek reelection on the issue. It also says that if they resigned, the Opposition also would resign and a general election would settle the issue. Commenting on the rejection of the motion of no confidence in the Ministry of this Province recently brought forward in the local Legislative Council, the Samadarsini writes:-- The defeat of the no-confidence motion is a fitting reply to the encouragement shown from outside the legislature to the Opposition Party, to the spirit of ambition evinced by some members of that Opposition Party and to the unnatural attitude taken by certain untrustworthy party members. The mover of the motion and the seconder had no definite charge to make against the present Ministry. Their arguments were based upon the

436

results of the recent Assembly elections which had nothing to do with the Council and its affairs, upon the minor differences existing in the Justice Party and upon a few irrelevant words taken out of the Government Administration Report for last year. Dr. Subbarayan has enunciated a new theory, namely that the Party in Opposition is in duty bound to defeat the Ministry in power, whenever an occasion presents itself therefor. The Opposition Party in the Council have no right to utilize for their own ends, the victory won by the congress in the Assembly elections. The Party called the United Nationalists does not exist except within the Council. The Raja of Bobbili has stated that having found certain drawbacks in the Party, he has set himself to weed them out since he has taken leadership of the Party. In fact, this vote of no confidence is the outcome of the Party reform on his part. The attempts of the Opposition Party to ministerpret the deeds done with a good motive and to utilize every opportunity to gain their own selfish ends, deserve to be condemned, In short, the vote of no confidence has not only established the whole-hearted confidence of the Council in the Ministry, but has served also to show that political dishonesty has received the censure that it deserves. (The Subodhini writes:-- It is very difficult to throw out(from power) a Ministry which is enjoying the support of the Government, and which does not hesitate to hold out hopes and benefits to others while in power.) The Opposition Party which was able to rally 42 persons to its side realizing the arduous task before it, deserves every praise. Thousands of people have made it evident in the recent Assembly elections that the Justice Party has lost the confidence of the Province and that they should resign their office. The Government have

in their last Administration Report stated that disintegration has set in, in the Justice Party, and that it has neither a definite policy nor programme. Though the motion of no confidence was defeated, it should be conceded that the present Council is not a truly representative body, since the Government have extended the term of the Council. ~~is not a truly representative body, since the Government~~ Writing on the same subject, the Krishna Patrika writes as follows:-- There is no wonder that the Government should actively support (the Ministry of) the Raja of Bobbili without remaining neutral. If this had really been a righteous fight, it would have become an exemplary precedent. This is not a square fight, but a quarrel that has been the result of personal grievances. Influence of office, intimidation and diplomacy played a great part in this fight, and what wonder is there that the legislature has become a play-house for the god of injustice. No party can be said to have lagged behind other parties in this respect. The Raja of Bobbili, Mr. Muthiah Chetti and Dr. Subbarayan--all have equal responsibility. We neither regret the defeat of the no-confidence motion nor rejoice at the victory of the Raja of Bobbili. We feel distressed at the political demoralization which has overtaken the Madras Legislative Council.

The Mathrubhumi considers that the rejection of the no-confidence motion against the Ministry proves that the present Legislative Council has ceased to be representative of real public opinion in the country and has outlived its usefulness. The paper is severely critical of the attitude taken by Government towards the motion. The action of the Government in appointing a whole-time whip in council and seeking to influence the vote of nominated members in

order to prop up the Bibbili Ministeyy was remarked to be scarcely in conformity with the importance or dignity of the Council; and this attitude of the irresponsible half of the government is taken to be an indication of how the safeguards and special powers in the new constitution will be worked. The moderate papers noted in the margin congratulate the Ministers on their victory but pointed out that there is a volume of dissatisfaction against them and that they should show by their policy and work in future that they deserved the confidence now reposed in them.

The Swadeshabhimani remarks:-- The notice of no-confidence motion in the Legislative Council regarding the present ministry is the culmination of the discontent and friction that have been in evidence for nearly two and a half years. The Justice Ministry is not keen on pursuing popular interests. Its anti-congress attitude, its secret election propaganda against the congress and its eagerness to support the Government under all conditions are all significant. When the Hon'ble the Raja of Bobbili became Chief Minister, great hopes were entertained regarding ministerial unity, high-minded policy and popular progress in all directions. But in practice. everything has turned out contrary to expectations and in a high-handed manner. The Ministry seemed to be content to carry out its own designs. The taluk boards were abolished. The district boards were weakened, and above all, the congress was regarded with antipathy. Who would tolerate such autocratic ways? The Tayi Nadu remarks:-- The no-confidence motion would certainly have succeeded, but several of the members are not independent. Some love money. Some are easily influenced. The votes in this country are not used solely on principles of public interest. Other considerations prevail. Recent news goes

to show how rotten is politics. Those who had at first promised support to the motion were subsequently swayed by the promises made by the Justice Party and voted in its favour. And so, the Justice Party now exists only with the support of the votes. But it is not supported either by the public or by political principles.

Disapproving of the grounds on which the no-confidence motion moved in the Madras Legislative Council was based, the Azad Hind writes:--Although we are not much affected by the continuance or otherwise of the present ministry yet from constitutional point of view its defeat would have been better, for, it would have given a chance of dissolving the present ministry and holding a general election in the Presidency.

<u>For the Month of May, 1935.</u>

The Justice Ministry.

41. The Sutandira Sangu writes:-- The people of this Presidencey have clearly demonstrated that there is not the least room here hereafter for jobhunting groups and coteries of henchmen like the Justice Party. We ask the Governor whether it is proper on his part to permit such a party to occupy the Ministry and abuse its power.) Referring to the resolutions passed by the Chingleput District Conference and the Madras Provincial congress committee recently urging the dissolution of the Bobbili Ministry and the local Legislative Council, the Jaya Bharati observes:--The fact that the Ministers who have lost confidence are still in office in spite of the continuous defeat sustained by their party in recent by-election

demonstrate the deplorable character of the constitution of our country. There are certain reasons why the Bobbili Ministry should be dissolved. Taluk Boards were abolished on the ground that it was not profitable to retain them. But District Boards are being bifurcated and the existing Boards are becoming bankrupt. Toll gates were abolished because they were deemed to be a hardship to the people. But ~~Bxxxxxxk Bxxxxx~~ a rumour is now current to the effect that they are going to be revived.) The Raja of Bobbili is resorting to such unjust measures only for strengthening his position and for securing more funds for meeting the vain expenditure of the Ministers. As if these will not suffice, another opportunity has presented itself to the Raja of Bobbili for the further abuse of power. (A sum of nearly 16 lakhs of rupees out of the one crore of rupees ~~et~~ set apart by the Government of India for rural reconstruction has come into the hands of the Ministers. Water scarcity in barren tracts can be removed with the help of this money.) But it would be futile to expect the Raja of Bobbili to do anything which will be conducive to the interests of the people. How long are a political gambler and his colleagues, who have no capacity for safeguarding the public interests and are trampling public opinion under foot, to be permitted to rule?

For the month of June, 1935.

14. The Madras Mail writes:--(Sunday's meeting in Ootacamund of leaders of the Justice Party seems to have produced some interesting, but, in the opinion of Sir A.P. Patro, impracticable suggestions, and it is reported to have broken up without any definite conclusions. The proposal

A Justice Party meeting

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that a record of the party's achievements should be published in book form is a good one) but not, it may be thought, likely to be serviceable in furthering the ends which the party has immediately in view, namely consolidation and organization for the coming election campaign. (Other suggestions are reported to have related to the establishment of a chain of Vernacular newspapers all over the Presidencey and the appointment of paid agents. It was perhaps realized that such propagandist journals would be unable to support themselves and require not only a large initial capital but constant subvention.) The proposal to appoint paid agents is more promising. It is better to have paid agents, keeping a record of expenses, than, as has so often happened in election campaigns in India, unpaid agents and paid voters. Moreover, paid agents form an almost indispensable part of a long established party organization. But at present the enthusiasm of unpaid volunteers is likely to be of more service to the Justice Party than the work of paid agents whose duty is to nurse the constitutencies in the member's or candidate's absence. An efficiently functioning local committee of voluntary workers, inspired with genuine and infectious devotion to the party, is perhaps the principal requirement just now. (The suggestion that the Ministers should come into contact and keep close touch with the masses is obviously sound. Undoubtedly, at present ministerial office tends to be regarded as a prize which, when it has once been won, exempts the holder from assisting at all but the more decorative functions) Perhaps such a tendency is inevitable when party leadership consists more in managing the different groups in the council and the comparatively few influential supporters outside it, than in securing and maintaining the confidence of the mass of the voters. Ministers and other leading members of a party

must

must regard themselves as perpetually on trial, as appealing to the electorate, not only at the end of a statutory term, but throughout it. This does not, of course, mean that no action can be taken without prior consultation of the electorate. Such a condition would make the work of governing impossible. But every action taken should, so far as possible, be justified subsequently. The electorate is owed an explanation, and such explanation should, again so far as possible, be given to each constitutency, and not be left to speeches in the Legislative Council, which may or may not be read by electors who prefer something more personal. (It will be seen that Mr.Bhulabhai Desai, in his speech at the opening of the District Political Conference at Pollachi, emphasised the power and responsibility of the voter. Such lessons need to be taught. If they are appreciated, the electorate will demand to be taken into confidence, and the party which fails to comply will sacrifice many votes. It is essential to the Justice Party, therefore, that the programme which is in painful process of formulation, should be put clearly before the electorate so soon as it is ready, and that its authors should go on pilgrimage, explaining it and defending it against criticism. The essential things are an effective programme, an effective organisation to enlist local enthusiasm in its support and an occasional personal appearance by the leaders and local members to ensure that the enthusiasm does not fade and that local views and local grievances are received with fitting respect. There is, however, one proposal, said to have been brought forward at Sunday's meeting, which is almost incredible. The meeting is reported to have debated at length how best to spend the sum, about Rs.20 lakhs, proposed to be provided in the next provincial budget for rural development.) Suggestions made

of the most suitable objects for expenditure are said to have included water-supply, rural sanitation and the acquisition of land for the depressed classes. Expenditure on these objects, it seems to have been suggested, would continue the party's hold upon the masses. That in itself is not a very satisfactory way of viewing project of a presumably disinterested nature, but, as it is not always possible to separate party from patriotic motives and objectives--and the two may, in fact, coincide--it is not necessary to enlarge upon that description. But what is so immoral, and at the same time so absurd as to be incredible, is the proposal, also reported, that the money should be spent through party agencies. It is inconceivable that any little Machiavelli could have made so naive a proposal for diverting public money into private pockets. It may be recognized that, in their control over the windfall from the Government of India and whatever sum can be squeezed out of the local budget to supplement it, the Justice government have a useful weapon for influencing popular sentiment in rural areas in their favour. If the money is spent upon the most desirable and practicable schemes, its vote-catching propensities cannot be avoided; but they cannot be made the determining factor. If the Government of India's contribution is included in the Rs.20 lakhs which, it is suggested, should be so calmly misappropriated, there can be little doubt that it would be withheld. Incredible as this story is, it serves to call attention to a most undesirable feature of politics as it seems to be understood in this Presidency, namely the spoils system. No party whose members consider what they can get out of it, instead of what they can put into it, can fail, under a democratic system of government, to make more enemies than friends.

The number of the disappointed is bound to be greater than the number of the satisfied. If the Justice Party is really determined upon reorganization, it should be one of its first proclamations that, so far as it is concerned, the spoils system must go, Is that too radical a measure of reform?

41. The Kudi Arasu writes:-- In spite of the fact that the system of making appointments according to the communal ratio has been introduced in the Police, Judicial and Revenue Departments, sufficient results have not been produced even by this system on account of the indifference of the heads of these departments and political appointments are going only to Brahmans as of old. Though Brahman domination and intrigue in the Secretariat are responsible for this state of affairs, we cannot help remarking that the lack of interest of the Ministers in this matter is also responsible for it to a certain extent. Though it is now more than a year since Sir.K.V.Reddi Nayudu became the Law Member, he does not seem to have made the least effort for changing the predominantly Brahman character of the Judicial Department. We would sound a note of warning even now that the Law Member alone will be held primarily responsible for the defeat of the Justice Party in the next general election unless he enacts a law providing for the direct recruitment of at least 50 sub-Judges and 10 Districts, Judges and gives free play for the spirit of independence of non-Brahman vakils. Though more than ten months have elapsed since the Hon'ble Mr. Pannirselvam became the Member in charge of Police, the Police Department is being more and more Brahmanized and it cannot be said that it is in the least constituted in accordance with the principles of justice. The Hon'ble the Revenue Member should directly recruit at least 50 Deputy Collectors and 100 Tahsildars from among the non-Brahmans and redress at least the existing grievances. Further,

1935

Non-Brahmans in Government service.

it is a matter of urgency and importance that the three Members of Government should prepare a list of the appointments in the departments under their control and see that all the appointments in a division or the head quarters station are not held by the members of the same community and that appointments are made in accordance with the communal ratio. Not even 25 per cent of the posts the incumbents of which have to do writing work and brain work and wield influence are held by non-Brahmans. In view of this, we are constrained to ask whether the British officials are under the impression that non-Brahmans have no brains and should not be trusted. If the Government and the Members of Government do not bestow attention upon this matter and do the needful, we would sound a note of warning that the non Brahman movement will have to take a different course. We need hardly say that the Ministers too are bound to bestow attention upon this matter and do the needful.

1935

Justice Ministry.

79. (The Darul Islam asserts that the administration of the Raja of Bobbili is a failure and that the administration of the Justice Ministry is wholly opposed to the interests of the country, the province and the local bodies.) Referring to the news regarding the appointment of a fourth Minister in Madras, the Dravida Kesari observes:-- The people do not at all support the three Ministers, who have lost their regard as well as that of the members of the Legislative Council on account of the high handed acts of the leader of their party and are kept in office by the favour of the government and the support of the puppet members of the Council who are expecting rewards from the Raja of Bobbili. While, so, what necessity has arisen for the creation of the fourth Minister's post? Is it proper on the part of the Chief Minister to create a post

446

unnecessarily with a view to conciliate some of his colleagues, who lent support to him when the no-confidence motion was brought against him and saved him from political extinction? It is stated that machinations are being contrived behind the scenes for spending all the twenty lakhs of rupees sanctioned by the Government of India for rural reconstruction work through the Justice Party organizations and alluring the voters with the object of securing victory for the party in the next election. If this is true, the Governor of Madras should intervene and prevent this. In view of the present state of affairs, it looks as if the Raja of Bobbili has no capacity for leading his party.

C 447

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

NEWSPAPER REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1936.

For the Month of March, 1936.

The Justice Ministry.

46. The Tamil Nadu writes:--It is understood that the Raja of Bobbili, who is the leader of the Justice party and the Chief Minister of the Government of Madras, is proceeding to Europe next month. No one can deny that the credit for having given a fresh lease of life to the Justice Party, which was about to break down, and protecting it till now belongs only to the Raja of Bobbili. However, his efforts to place the party on a firm basis have proved futile. It may very well be stated that the party has become disorganised. We do not like to say much about the other two Ministers. Even Brahma cannot save the Justice Party which could not be set in order by the Raja of Bobbili. Hence, we would say that, if before the Raja of Bobbili leaves India the other Ministers also resign their office, the evils that are likely to befall the Dravidians will be lessened. We believe that it is the duty of the Governor to call the three Ministers together and urge them to tender their resignation. Referring to this subject, the Sutandira Sangu observes:-- It appears that the Raja of Bobbili has requested the Governor to treat the period of his absence from India as a period of leave and permit him to assume the office of Chief Minister again on his return from Europe after three months. Very curious arguments are being advanced for urging the Governor to act according to the wishes of the Raja of Bobbili. One of these arguments is that two Ministers are enough to look after the duties connected with transferred departments. No one could have forgotten so

*: the functions to be discharged by the Ministers were numerous and that

*: soon that the Justicites were saying a few months ago that four Ministers were absolutely necessary for attending to them. The very same Justicites now think that it is enough if there are two Ministers. According to the present constitution, none of the Provincial Ministers can go on leave for such a long period. Hence, the Raja of Bobbili must either give up his office or abandon his European tour. Would he now entertain the idea of going to Europe if the Justice party had secured some success in the recent elections? The proper course for the Governor to adopt is to realize the true situation and urge the other two Ministers to tender their resignation along with the Raja of Bobbili. There is no one in this province who will shed tears at the termination of the regime of these Ministers. An avowedly autocratic administration is by far better than an administration carried on by Ministers who are not genuine representatives For, there will then be no room for the fraudulent talk that the administration is being carried on with the consent of the people.

For the month of April, 1936.

The Justice Ministry.

19. Referring to the motion brought forward by Mrs. Lakshmipati in the local Legislative Council recently for the reduction of the salaries of the Ministers, the Swadesamitran observes:--The fundamental charge brought against the Chief Minister is that he has as his main object the promotion of the interests of his party. In the reply given by the Chief Minister to this charge, there is no answer whatever to the points cited in support of the charge. In particular, the reason given by the Chief Minister for the

postponement of the election of the President of the South Kanara District Board only proves that the charge levelled by the opposition is well-founded. The Minister for Education proclaimed that he had done something in regard to elementary education and stated that he had piloted two Bills through the Legislative Council. One of these Bill is calculated to reduce the number of children receiving education as a result of the new interpretation given therein to compulsion. Even the Government have admitted that a large portion of the money spent on elementary education goes to waste. They have not so far taken any steps to prevent this waste. While the Ministers have not carried on efficiently the administration of their own departments, why will they persuade the Executive Council to act according to the wishes of the popular representatives? The Sutandira Sangu points out that everybody knows whether the Justice Ministry depends upon the protecting hands of the Governor or on the support of the people. The Jaya Bharati writes:-- There are some people who have eyes and yet do not see; who have ears and yet do not hear. The Raja of Bobbili seems to belong only to this class. We have to doubt from the reply given by him to the charges levelled against the Justice Ministry whether he is really aware of what he is saying or whether he has the least political knowledge. The observation made by him that the Governor has got the power of extending the term of the Legislative Council and that, therefore, the members of the Legislative Council, the term of which has been extended, are really representative in character only shows that he is absolutely devoid of political knowledge. It is evident from the very fact that the Justice Party has been defeated in the recent District Board elections that the bifurcation of district

boards is taking place in party interests and that the public detest this. The very fact that the Ministers did not support the resolution brought forward by Mr.Ramalingam Chettiyar recently for the remission of land revenue proves that the Ministry has not done anything in the interest of the country.. The statement that the whole world is singing the praises of the Bobbili administration, which is made on the strength of the votes of puppets who are indebted to the Ministry in every way, only shows Bobbili's skill in political jugglery. The Darul Islam holds that the Primary duty of the people is to convert the irresponsible system of diarchic government into responsible government and that the first thing that should be done in this behalf is to strive to get rid of the Bobbili administration, which does not seek the welfare of the country.

For the month of July, 1936.

Justice party propaganda.

23. Swarajya writes:--"The Hon'ble Mr.P.T.Rajan, Minister for Development in the Government of Madras, has made, on behalf of his party, what has been described as a fighting speech, while opening a conference at Madura. A good part of his speech was devoted to answering criticisms levelled against his Party by Mr.Satyamurthi. There is only one point in Mr.Rajan's speech that needs clearing up. He claims with some gusto that his party has proved that Indians are capable administrators. Self-respecting Indians have always resented the Britishers demand that Indians should show proof of their ability to manage the affairs of their country before they could be entrusted with such onerous responsibility. To admit, as Mr.Rajan has

done tacitly, the foreigners' right to ask for proof of ability on the part of Indians, is derogatory to national self-respect. Whether Indians manage their affairs well or otherwise, foreigners have no right to rule. The reason why the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were characterized as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, and were rejected as being unworthy of India to accept and unworthy of England to offer, was that they were based on a series of fundamental assumptions, most galling to Indian self-respect, that Indians were not fit immediately to undertake the responsibility of self-Government, that they should go through for the purpose a period of probation, and that the extent and pace of further instalments of responsible government should be determined by the British Parliament in the light of the manner in which Indians had shouldered the partial responsibility entrusted to them as an experimental measure. The Simon Commission was boycotted by all advanced political parties in India, including even the Liberals, because the same iniquitous principle-that Britishers should be the sole judges of India's fitness for self=government governed its terms of reference. The Justice party has ignored the foregoing vital considerations, and gone out of the way to prove to the Britisher that Indians are fit to look after themselves. The Party has proved not what Indians in general are capable of, but that there is, and there will be, no dearth of unpatriotic Indians who will meekly submit to any kind of humiliating test, who will cringe and fawn before enthroned wrong for the fishes and loaves of office, and who will, without any compunction, connive at and be party to a policy of repression of the national movement for freedom. The Justice Party has become completely discredited, and lost its ground everywhere, because it was a party to repression of the national movement. They had lulled themselves into the belief that the Civil Disobedience campaign was conducted by a handful of refractory individuals, that

after these persons were effectively dealt with, the campaign would, for want of a regular and continuous supply of recruits, slowly lose its force and stop. These who actually participated in Civil Disobedience [were no doubt few in number but they had behind them the sympathy and support of the entire nation.] ~~campaign was conducted by a handful. that to refractory individuals, that after these persons were effectively dealth with~~ the campaign was supported by all sections of people; for, every Indian, irrespective of his profession and station in life, realized that the Congress was fighting for the redemption of India. The humiliations heaped upon Congress workers were felt by the general mass of people with the intensity of personal suffering. To mention but one instance, the fact that a respected publicist like Mr.S.A.Brelvi, Editor of the Bombay Chronicle, was asked to report himself daily to the police provoked even Sir Phiroz Sethna into making a vigorous protest. Repression succeeded in checking the Civil Disobedience campaign because the Justice Party and other such elements in the country encouraged such repression. Naturally the people got disgusted with the Justicites, and that the disgust found full expression at the time of the elections. The defeat of Mr.A.Ramaswami Mudaliyar in the city of Madras, the metropolis, the main stronghold of the Justice Party, was signal proof of the people's disgust with its want of patriotism. With an Air of self-complacency the Raja Saheb of Bobbili explained that the results of the Assembly elections did not afford the correct index to the public mind, and that elections to the local bodies would demonstrate the hold of the Justice Party on the people, as against that of the Congress; but the Raja Saheb turned out to be a false prophet. And now we are told that the success of the congress was due to the fact that it had worked up the masses' feelings of fear, prejudice and harted. To day that the

Assembly voters, mostly men and women of education, were bamboozled by congress propaganda is an insult to their intelligence. The truth is, the Justice Party had long, long ago forfeited its right to be treated as a political party deserving well of the country. It has had no intelligble political or economic programme deserving of notice. The establishment of a few hospitals here and the laying out of a few roads there, all routine administrative acts, cannot be glorified into a programme. The Justice Ministry has, as a matter of fact, mismanaged many things. The much-vaunted expansion of elementary education is sheer bosh; in the name of expansion, big sums of money have been wasted; the Education Minister does not know his own mind, so much so that even Sir A.P.Patro, a zealous champion of Justice Party, was compelled to declare in the Legislative Council when the last Elementary Education Bill was on the anvil that the Minister had not pursued a definite policy. It seems to us that the Justice Party is doomed. Its days are numbered. It will have vanished into thin air in the scramble of the coming elections to the Provincial Legislature. Its leaders are now making a futile attempt to revitalise it. In Justice quarters a vain hope seems to lurk that the unfortunate Vellore episode will repeat itself on a large scale; or that by astute manoeuvres and clever manipulations after the elections the Justice Party could be restored to its present eminence. If that hope is entertained by responsible leaders of the Justice party, all that we can say is that they have yet much more to know and learn. Such surreptitious methods will not at all succeed. The right thing for the party to do is to go into voluntry liquidation, and capitul[illegible] before the Great Indian National Congress. The Congress[illegible] we daresay, will be only too glad to [illegible]ilate the Ju[illegible] after subjecting them to necessary [illegible]ion. If

457

Justicites mean what they have been saying all these years, they want to work for the elevation of the masses, they will find ample scope and opportunity, and they will receive due encouragement, within the Congress. If, instead of adopting this most timely, prudent, patriotic and honourable course, they would persist in their vain endeavour to fight the congress, it will not be long before they realize their tragic unwisdom."

For the month of November, 1936.

The Justice party and elections.

28. The Andhra Patrika writes:--'The Honourable the Ra of Bobbili is touring the Districts doing propaganda f the Justice party.' The Ex of the tour will be met by the government, that is, the tour is conducted at the expense of the tax-payers 'During the tour, the Honourable the Raja dwells on what has been achieved in the past and what will be achieved in the future.) The public must note what value should be attached to past achievements and to what extent future plans would be carried out. (The Hon'ble the Raja thinks that the Ceded Districts form the stronghold of the Just The people of the districts must falsify this idea. in Bellary, the Hon'ble the Raja observed that th ...ous work during the past ...

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